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Macedonia's CSCE Membership Vetoed

AU2409180793 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 24 Sep 93

[Unattributed report: "Macedonia's Acceptance to the CSCE Blocked"]

[Text] Macedonia's acceptance as a member of the CSCE has been blocked again.

Greece, Cyprus, and Albania (although the stance of the Albanian delegation was somewhat more moderate than the previous CSCE session) were against the acceptance of the Republic of Macedonia to this international organization.

At the meeting of the CSCE high functionaries held in Prague, the same scenario occurred as at the previous meeting held in July this year in the same city.

Despite the great support given to Macedonia by a number of countries, including the United States, Russia, Slovenia, Poland, the delegations of Greece, Cyprus, and Albania used their right to veto and opposed Macedonia's acceptance.

The Greek delegation expressed its stance that Macedonia's acceptance to the CSCE should not take place until the settling of the Macedonian-Greek dispute. This opinion was supported only by Cyprus.

The rest of the countries gave their support to Macedonia's membership, with the explanation that Macedonia fulfilled all the necessary terms.

Support was also expressed by the head of the CSCE mission in Macedonia, the U.S. ambassador Norman Anderson.

CSCE Asks for Support for Nagorno-Karabakh Plan

AU2409193193 Paris AFP in English 1409 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Prague, Sept 24 (AFP)—Senior officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) appealed here Friday [24 September] to the protagonists in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh to put into effect a peace plan worked out in June.

Armenians and Azerbaijanis have been battling for more than five years over the Armenian-populated enclave in Azerbaijan. Recent fighting has seen Armenian forces occupy large areas of Azerbaijani territory.

CSCE Secretary-General Wilhelm Hoeynck stressed Friday the key role of Russia in resolving the conflict and did not rule out direct contacts between the combatants, but said it was up to the CSCE to finalise any agreement.

"Russia seems ready to accept that principle," Hoeynck said, referring indirectly to fears of some countries, particularly Turkey, that Russia would "go it alone" in resolving the conflict in an area which used to be under Moscow's control.

The CSCE has set up the Minsk Group of 10 of its 50 members plus representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, which is currently meeting in Paris to prepare a peace conference to be held in the Belarus capital.

Under the peace plan, between 500 and 600 military observers would be sent to the enclave to consolidate a ceasefire, in the first large-scale operation of this kind to be undertaken by the CSCE.

Berisha Addresses PD National Council

AU2409181793 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 19 Sep 93 p 1

[Speech by President Sali Berisha at meeting of the Democratic Party National Council on 17 September: "The Extension of Freedom Is the Main Way To Consolidate Democracy"]

[Text] Eighteen months have elapsed since the Democratic Party [PD] and two other coalition parties took over the country's government. I believe that this has been a period of great transformations in Albania. At a time when Albania was rolling toward the abyss, new forces came to power, overcame all pessimistic predictions, and put the country on the right track. In this context, I believe no one can deny that in the field of foreign relations Albania has come out of its isolation. It has made considerable steps in the direction of its integration into the international community and toward creating that kind of system of relations that is necessary for its national security and the development of democracy.

Albania has made considerable progress in the direction of the economic reform and the creation of a state based on law.

What is certain is that this has been a difficult period, a period during which the forces of democracy confronted a historic challenge and met it successfully. We are convinced that this brief, difficult, and decisive period was a period of the consolidation of the democratic institutions, of Albania's integration, of the state based on law, and of free initiative. We would be very much mistaken if we believed that we could progress much further on the basis of what has been achieved hitherto. On the contrary, we can now utilize our entire potential to coordinate the ways in which we must consolidate what has been achieved. The postulate that "What one has achieved in freedom can be overtaken only by extending freedom," is a valid one in this context. We must be guided by this, all of us, in order to be able to consolidate what we have achieved.

What is most important is that we should progress to a specific analysis. I would say that in our work it is essential to forget what we have achieved and to direct our attention to what we have not yet achieved. It is true that the PD has attained the goals of its program, that it has kept its promises, together with the other forces that took over government. But it is also true that a lot remains to be done, that we cannot progress any further if we live only with present achievements. We must always look at the difficult side of problems.

It requires to be pushed. It stimulates us to advance even further toward the consolidation of the state, the advancement of the reform and free initiative.

I will stress once again that the extension of freedom is the major way of consolidating democracy and what we have achieved.

In this context let us look at all the structures available to us. First, it is necessary for all the institutions of Albanian democracy to reexamine their activity.

I believe that the parliamentary group cannot go on working as it has done hitherto. It is true that it has performed admirably. However, from now on this group must be more rational, it must be more demanding in all its future work.

However, there exist certain developments and attitudes that are daily eroding and damaging democracy in Albania. This parliamentary group must therefore find a style of work capable of preventing and accelerating the process of putting a brake to these phenomena, in the same way that it must establish dialogue as a norm and style of work.

Gentlemen, it is true that we possess the voting card and the majority, and this is to be respected. However, there is another truth, that the laws are not only the majority, that the laws exist where justice lies, and justice exists, it must be discovered. Let us thus not use the strength of the voting card to impose a disputable justice, but let us decide on better laws through dialogue and consensus. In this context I demand from the group and insist that it should create space for the parliamentary groups in the coalition, but let us also provide space for the deputies of the opposition. This is an essential prerequisite for a parliament to produce good laws. If we are to extend and secure freedom, we must adapt everything in conformity with the charter of human rights and all the laws that we are enacting must be in conformity with human rights. We cannot secure a democratic Albania without this framework. Second, we must unfailingly raise the role of the deputies. I demand from the presidency of the Assembly and the prime minister to adopt all necessary measures to secure the role and place deserved by deputies. Better working conditions should be provided for them. This will make their work more efficient. This is all the more necessary since they have been elected through a free ballot and we must provide them with the possibility of carrying out their function. In the same way, the government is required and obliged to consult with all party leaders and political forces in the government about all its decisions, without excluding also the possibility of consultation with the opposition, when they have valid ideas on problems and when this appears reasonable. The stand toward the opposition is something that we must bear in mind. I would consider the appearance of leftist extremism at the head of the opposition as a misfortune. However, none of us should be faltering about our full diversity with the opposition. If we do not enter a coalition with it, it must understand that we do this in the interest of the opposition itself. The opposition is an opposition and is respected as such. Elections provide political alternatives.

Naturally, it would be immoral to identify the opposition with a group that may really have acted or made statements that are unacceptable in a democratic society. Anyway, we must carry out opposition in these conditions, we must not limit their constructive actions in the opposition, in the same way that we do with other political forces to make possible the deepening of democracy. If we do not carry out opposition, if we are not constructive toward the opposition, let us be certain that we would be making mistakes that history will judge us for in the future.

The government must define the immediate medium-term and long-term priorities. And to do this the government must seek the help of other institutions. Considering the problem of the privatization of medium-sized and larger enterprises as a big problem, I appreciate the practice of bonds, and we are working to arrange this and put it in the intended place.

The state cannot function by the will of a few alone, the state functions only on the basis of the law and respect for the law.

What is the "reality?" The reality is that there are plenty of laws.

First, a not very suitable judicial system has been created.

Secondly, I am sorry, but I can say here that one of the negative tendencies of our present office-holders is that they look at the law as ethics. Mr. minister of construction. If tens of thousands of tons of cement are lost? [sentence as published]

Mr. Minister of Finance, if tens of thousands of leks are lost as a result of the controls and programs of the financial police, if fertilizers are lost in agriculture, and there are also losses in the Ministry of Industry, it is you who are the main ones responsible to the country. You are primarily responsible for the enforcement of laws: You make the law, you enforce it. Otherwise, you will be facing a very unpleasant situation.

Finally, I would like to come to the PD. The PD can play its role only through rejuvenation and self-correction. The self-correction of the PD is a fundamental prerequisite for its confrontation of future challenges. By self-correction we understand the correction of all those problems that may have gone beyond the program of the PD. Dialogue is needed. The spirit of dialogue must prevail in the PD, not only within the PD itself, but also between other political forces. I have been, continue to be, and will be in favor of coalition. Why?

Don't forget that when we had the dictatorship we used to gather in rooms and sign agreements with the Republican Party [PR], the Social Democratic Party [PSD], the Association of Political Prisoners, and the independent trade unions, and people used to congratulate us about this. We thus have a moral obligation uniting us.

Second: We need a lot of work and culture in our state institutions, also by intellectuals of the PR, the PSD, free intellectuals, etc. etc.

Above all else there stand the purposes of the national aspiration over all party aspirations.

I thus believe that in this context the coalition must be respected and perfected.

I am extraordinarily pleased with the candidacies presented by the PR and PSD in the Diber District communes. Greetings to the voters of Zerqan and Luzni, and particularly to those who voted differently on 26 July. [sentence as published]

The PD must not monopolize everything. We must expand the base, we must accept change. The stronger the base the more secure Albania must be, all the more secure in democracy. We live in troubled times, in a destabilized region. We must therefore consider that it is in the national interest that we should have as many as possible on our side, and we must return soundly to all the promises that we have made, adhere to them. We must judge people not by their biographies, but by their actions. In the same way, the PD's attitude toward the war is a clear one. Honor without discussion for all those who fought and fell for the freedom of these territories throughout time, even in the National Liberation War. There can be no wavering here. We must be guided by more humane principles, and not according to the principle: This one was so and that one was so... By honoring all those who are fighting for freedom, we honor the blood that has been shed, we honor their families.

In this context, I say there must be no illusions about compromise, cooperation, and coalition with collaborationists. The fact that ceremonies have been organized in some cases for those who have collaborated with fascism gave the leftist extremists the chance to besmirch even the most brilliant figures of democracy. We must not permit the martyrs of freedom to become the propaganda monopoly of the leftists.

I believe that a party that has the strength for self-correction is a party looking to the future, and this is important. We came to power originally without any experience. The changes can now be seen everywhere, at every level. We must take care to make essential and necessary changes to the benefit of the nation and country. Because this is the only way we can progress.

There is a leftist extreme and there is a rightist extreme. The PD's defined position is the center-right. I believe that we should hold the Second National Assembly of the PD in December. Let us think about rejuvenation, self-correction, that we may once again face up to the great challenges that the new phase of the consolidation of democratic victories represents.

Tirana, 17 September 1993.

Official Refutes Charges on Closure of Greek Schools

AU2509155793 Tirana ATA in English 0818 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Tirana, September 25 (ATA)—Yzeir Poshi, director of the Education Department of Gjirokaster District, has told ATA that the statement by the Greek Government that Greek schools have been closed in Gjirokaster are utterly without foundation. He characterized the charges of the Greek Foreign Ministry as being motivated by ill will toward Albania. Mr. Poshi declared that all Greek schools in Gjirokaster have began the school year normally. Thirteen Greek elementary schools have 2-7 pupils in a class. There are elementary schools which have no more than 2-3 pupils, and it is necessary to group them because pupils' homes are 2-3 km from the school. All classes, he reiterated, remain open.

In response to the reporter's question, Mr. Poshi said that no punitive action of any sort has been taken against either teachers or pupils of the Greek minority. Twenty-seven out of 66 government officials of Gjirokaster are from the Greek minority. Half of the staff of the Education Department, the supervising, assistance, and qualification sectors are from the minority. Greek instructors supervise instruction in different subjects in all areas where there is a minority population.

The opening of a Greek language and literature department at the Gjirokaster University will train teachers for the schools of the minority.

Crime Reportedly Costs State 1.38 Billion Leks

AU2409153193 Tirana ATA in English 1028 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA)—The chairman of the State Control Commission, Blerim Cela, estimates that during the April 1992-June 1993 period the Albanian state lost 1.38 billion leks through illegal activities involving some 27,332 people. Mr. Cela made the statement before the People's Assembly on September 23, adding that he had recommended prosecution of the persons involved in this corruption but that as yet the State Attorney's Office had not brought charges against them.

The State Control Commission has also been supervising the privatization process, Mr. Cela said. Investigations in 106 establishments have shown that in 56 cases the privatization was carried out illegally. Illegal activities have also been observed in the banking system, such as the intentional non-use of credit, granting special treatment to the people working in banks, and improper accounting, especially in regard to foreign debt.

Mr. Cela mentioned also other violations of laws by the Financial Police and customs officials. He noted that the Control Commission had found cases of improper customs clearance, and lost or falsified documents.

Berov, Mikhaylov Answer Questions From Parliament

AU2409171993 Sofia BTA in English 1423 GMT 24 Sep 93

["Question Time in Parliament"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 24 (BTA)—Neither the Finance Ministry nor the National Bank of Bulgaria (BNB) know anything about a loan from Turkey which would be distributed by the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), Prime Minister Berov said, answering an MP's question at parliament today. Most probably it is a loan granted by a Turkish bank to a Bulgarian one, the prime minister added.

Answering a question on price growth control, Prof. Berov said that violations had been detected of a government-approved ordinance on monitoring and control of prices of goods and services, a regulation which is essential for Bulgaria's living standards and national economy. In spite of the competent authorities' slow reaction, the cabinet will not allow unjustified rise of prices before consultations at the Council on Tripartite Cooperation (of the government, employers and trade unions), the prime minister said.

The cabinet is determined to assist small shareholders in the progress of mass privatization and ensure them adequate representation on the management bodies of privatized units, the prime minister said, answering a strongly worded question from Velko Vulkanov MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). It is not true that the cabinet is doing nothing about trade regulation, the prime minister said. Over the last two weeks the Council of Ministers adopted several acts addressing these questions, he recalled. The cabinet will speed up land restitution, it will do, as it is already doing, everything within its power to solve problems in this sector in spite of the thousands of obstacles it encounters, Prof. Berov said. As to the critical view of privatization, which he discerned in the question, the head of government described it as irrelevant to the government's programme. Prof. Berov assured the MP's the major objective of the cabinet is to keep down the social price of the reform.

Have "entitled officials" been paid their salaries in commemorative precious-metal coins under the communist regime? Father Stefan MP of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) asked the prime minister. Commemorative coin speculation at the time was common, according to Prof. Berov. Only 213 of a total of 281 kilos of gold commemorative coins and 27 tonnes of a total 74 tonnes of silver coins are kept in the central bank, the prime minister informed.

The Society for Krishna Consciousness is registered under the Religious Faiths Act and the Ministry of the Interior has no lawful right to take action against them unless they breach the peace or violate the law of the land, Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov said, answering a question on the action his ministry is planning to take in connection with some incidents in Sofia. An enquiry into these cases is under way, the minister said. Public intolerance of certain sects will keep causing trouble, Mr. Mikhaylov stressed. The Religious Faiths Act has to be amended to prevent the registration of certain sects which pose a certain risk, the minister believes.

Zhelev Denies Knowledge of Romanian Claims in Dobrudzha

AU2509173393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Today's issue of the private newspaper DOBRUDZHA gives prominence to an interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev. In connection with certain insinuations, President Zhelev declares that he has no knowledge of any claims made by Romanian state leader Iliescu regarding southern Dobrudzha. We maintain very good relations with Romania, which incidentally is also the case with our other neighbors, the president pointed out. Iliescu and I signed a bilateral treaty of cooperation, he said, and this treaty fully describes our relations, which can be filled with new content. It is absurd today to talk of border changes anywhere in Europe, the president stated.

Delegation Signs Agreements in Latin America

AU2609165593 Sofia BTA in English 1608 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—A Bulgarian economic delegation, led by Deputy Prime Minister and Trade Minister Valentin Karabashev, returned from a two-week visit to Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela. The delegation included officials of the Ministries of Trade, Finance, Foreign Affairs and Defence and some 40 businessmen of private and state-owned enterprises.

The avoidance of double taxation, investment protection and industrial and trade cooperation in the defence industry were high on the agenda of the tour, Mr. Karabashev said. The delegation supplied their hosts with information about the Bulgarian economy, the progress of the marketization reform and the opportunities for foreign investment in Bulgaria, especially in the sectors in which businessmen and entrepreneurs of Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela have showed interest.

Under a new trade agreement between Bulgaria and Brazil, signed during the visit, the two countries extended to each other a most-favoured-nation trading status and undertook to encourage the growth of two-way trade. An agreement on reciprocal investment protection was signed with Argentina. The opportunities for the formation of joint ventures were considered in Venezuela, and the first step in this direction was made with the opening of an office of the Bulgarian medicines manufacturer Pharmachim in Caracas.

The Bulgarian businessmen conferred with their counterparts in all three countries and closed a number of deals.

Videnov Reaffirms Support for Berov Cabinet

AU2609191293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] The fact that the government has not fulfilled all the commitments it assumed is not a sufficient reason for the Socialists to withdraw their support, Zhan Videnov, Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] leader, pointed out in his report at the plenum of the BSP Supreme Council and parliamentary faction.

According to Mr. Videnov, early elections could be expected only next year, and until then the BSP must prepare for efficiently utilizing a new mandate.

During the debates after Mr. Videnov's report, Nikolay Kamov dissociated from the position expressed by Mrs. Nora Ananieva, namely, that the BSP could withdraw its support from the government.

For her part Mrs. Nora Ananieva, the leader of the BSP parliamentary faction, said that her statement has been manipulated by the press.

In his statement Aleksandur Lilov said that the BSP must continue to support the government. However, it also must continue to criticize the government. The BSP must follow a course toward power, however, not by behind-the-scenes machinations, but rather by winning the elections, Mr. Lilov said.

The participants in the plenum also critically assessed the state of agriculture and the progress of the agrarian reform. According to this assessment Bulgarian agriculture is in a dramatic state. However, the total impoverishment of the Bulgarian villages could be stopped through the joint efforts of the national-responsible factors.

Daskalov Urges More EC Financial Aid

BR2409143093 Brussels LE SOIR in French 24 Sep 93 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov, by Edouard van Velthem; place and date not given: "'Help Us Succeed'"]

[Text] *If, in these postcommunist times, all Central and East European countries were to share only one characteristic, it would have to be the young age of their officials. Stanislav Daskalov is no exception to the rule. With his wire-rimmed eyeglasses and well-cut suit, Bulgaria's foreign minister looks like a young corporate executive. His discourse, however, is that of a seasoned diplomat.*

[Van Velthem] Over the last few days, the Bulgarian press has focused heavily on the outcome of the elections in Poland, even going so far as drawing a parallel between the Polish situation and what might happen in Sofia.

[Daskalov] This verdict, announced by opinion polls, is mainly indicative of one thing: Western support to political and economic reforms in Central and East European countries must include a higher level of financial assistance, not to mention faster opening of Western markets.

[Van Velthem] Which is precisely what you and your counterparts mean to say to the EC's "troika" [past, current, and future EC presidencies].

[Daskalov] This meeting is part of the political dialogue born of association agreements and decisions arrived at by the Twelve in Copenhagen. We seized this opportunity to raise issues which are of prime importance for Bulgaria. This means, in particular, the delay in the ratification of the interim agreements, and the EC's demands with respect to trade. As a result, Bulgarian exporters find it extremely difficult to access Western markets; especially hard hit is our barely emerging, and thus fragile private sector.

[Van Velthem] Which, at the same time, must bear the full brunt of the embargo against Belgrade?

[Daskalov] Bulgaria endorses the sanctions and we scrupulously honor this commitment. But we do pay a very high price for it. Not only in lost earnings, but also with respect to infrastructures: We used to trade mostly through Serbia; today, we must use the Danube river, which is obviously a slower and more limited trade route. As a result, we find it impossible to export perishable farm produce, for instance.

[Van Velthem] With a perceptible impact on the social climate?

[Daskalov] People are still relatively quiet in this respect, but trouble could definitely happen should things remain the way they are now. Again, those affected the most are private producers and merchants, and this slows down the reform process, of which they are the cornerstone. You have to realize that their options are so limited that they have been looking for outlets in penniless countries such as the former republics of the Soviet Union.

[Van Velthem] And to the south, there is Macedonia, itself caught between Serbia and Greece.

[Daskalov] We were the first to formally recognize the Macedonian state, and we remain entirely favorable to its international recognition, which we view as a stabilizing factor for the region. True, our trade relations have been growing and we now have trade agreements with Skopje, for which—for obvious reasons—we are about the only external outlet. But here also, we are mired in an infrastructure problem, especially as regards communication channels, both limited and primitive, between our two countries.

[Van Velthem] Are these the reasons why you are also applying for NATO membership?

[Daskalov] Yeltsin's declaration on Poland's potential affiliation with NATO intensified the debate on the future of the organization and its membership. Bulgaria is ready and wishes to join the alliance as soon as possible. All we are saying is that the Balkans are a strategic region, that two of our neighbors, Greece and Turkey, are already members, and that on this crucial debate hinges the stability of the whole of Europe.

[Van Velthem] Bulgaria is currently going through a political crisis, and there is much talk of early elections.

[Daskalov] This is indeed a possibility, but only Parliament may make such a decision and set a date, should things come to that.

[Van Velthem] People here are rather puzzled that President Zhelev—whom they see as a "Bulgarian Havel"—is being charged with being a neocommunist by his own party.

[Daskalov] Analyzing the various aspects of the dispute between the president and the Union of Democratic Forces is no easy task. And I intend to be all the more cautious since this conflict has nothing to do with the government that I am representing.

Parliament Declaration to UN on Embargo Losses

AU2409135993 Sofia BTA in English 1051 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 24 (BTA)—Bulgaria insists on the working out of a concrete mechanism through which it could get certain compensations for the losses caused by the Yugo-embargo, says a National Assembly declaration adopted by an overwhelming majority this morning. It stresses Bulgaria is implementing and will continue to implement the embargo. The document will be sent to the 48th UN General Assembly session.

"Mindful of its commitment to the lofty principles of the United Nations, and regardless of the grave economic difficulties suffered due to the embargo, Bulgaria strictly applies and will continue to apply the UN Security Council resolutions concerning Serbia and Montenegro," says the declaration. It stresses that as a result of the international community's sanctions against Iraq, Libya, and Serbia and Montenegro in the last three years Bulgaria has been sustaining heavy losses, to a great extent commensurate with its foreign debt, which aggravate its serious economic crisis.

"In view of the fact that economic sanctions are applied as a last peaceful resort to pressure a state into complying with decisions of the international community, which will obviously continue to be used in the future, the Bulgarian Parliament calls on the UN General Assembly to speed the development of an effective mechanism of compensation for losses by third parties resulting from the implementation of economic sanctions. The Bulgarian National Assembly requests the international political and financial institutions to work out and implement measures for indirect compensations to the countries affected worst by sanctions," the declaration reads. As to Bulgaria, these measures might include: eased access of Bulgarian goods and services to the markets of the developed countries; financing of long-term projects for improvement of the infrastructure; directing possible international assistance and finance to the purchase of goods and services from Bulgarian companies for the restoration of the economic structure of the former Yugoslav republics after the embargo is lifted; measures encouraging foreign investment in Bulgaria by the governments of the developed countries, etc.

"Deeply appreciative of the recommendations of the Sanctions Committee of the UN Security Council concerning Bulgaria, the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria strongly urges the UN General Assembly to direct once again the attention of the member states, the international organizations and financial institutions to the need for urgent and effective assistance for the overcoming of the serious losses Bulgaria has sustained because of the sanctions," parliament's declaration to the 48th UN General Assembly session says in conclusion.

Delay of Mass Privatization Program Criticized

AU2609214793 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 21 Sep 93 p 3

[Commentary by Yordan Suev under the rubric "Position": "Privatization Program Suffers Delay"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers, full of high ambitions, has at long last given the world a final (for the time being) project for mass privatization. According to the project, the government promises that by the end of the year every adult Bulgarian over 18 years of age will receive a check for 25,000 leva to enable him or her to take part in the privatization process. In confirmation of its serious intentions, the Council of Ministers has drafted an outline scheme for implementing the first stage of the project in 1993 and 1994. An appendix to this scheme contains a basic timetable and additional measures.

So far, so good. The only trouble is that time is inexorably marching on. It is becoming clear that the deadlines specified in the timetable and the additional measures are likely to be missed, because a bill on the necessary amendments to the Privatization Act should have been submitted to the National Assembly by 1 September. The Legislative Commission can provide no information that the bill has been received. We admit that there may be procedural complications, but there can hardly be any excuse for the failure of the Council of Ministers to do its own job properly. I refer to the Council of Ministers' declared intention, contained in the above-mentioned additional measures, to adopt before 15 September a decree on organizing the [privatization] funds, a statute on these funds, and regulations

on selecting the fund managers. A week after the expiry of this deadline, there is not a word about this decree.

In this case, we are far from wanting to play the role of petty critics of the government's legislative activities. However, because we are convinced that privatization must at long last really start in Bulgaria, we are alarmed by this so far unexplained delay. In addition, well-founded doubts are appearing as to whether the subsequent measures will not suffer the same fate. The next envisioned deadline is 1 October, when the list of the 500 enterprises subject to mass privatization is due to be finalized. However, this list is directly related to the previously mentioned bill of amendments, because it cannot be compiled unless the National Assembly adopts the necessary amendments to the Privatization Act. Immediately following 1 October, it will be necessary to start work on grouping three-fifths, or 300 of the 500 enterprises to be privatized into 10 privatization funds, if the fund version of the project is implemented, and to determine the 200 enterprises that are to be privatized as individual economic units.

Thus, it turns out that even a slight delay causes a chain reaction of postponement of all the subsequent steps, which may eventually lead to a stalling of the entire process. This is not to say that we have not grown accustomed to such phenomena, but it seems that this time there are no serious reasons for not finishing the job. The outcome of this affair will undoubtedly affect public confidence in the government.

Fatherland Party of Labor Holds Talks in Belgrade

AU2709105793 Sofia BTA in English 0959 GMT 27 Sep 93

[From BTA press review]

[Text] A delegation of the Fatherland Party of Labour, led by its chairman, Mr. Rumen Popov, visited Belgrade, Ms. Eli Yurukova, Radio Free Europe correspondent in Belgrade, reported to DEMOKRATSIYA, the daily of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. The Serbian parliament expressed its gratitude to the Fatherland Party of Labour for launching the idea for the Bulgarian Parliament to request the raising of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. The Fatherland Party of Labour promised to convene a rally in Sofia against the UN sanctions and Belgrade accepted the proposal for a meeting between Bulgarian and Serbian parliamentary delegations at the border. "Significantly, former Yugoslavia remembered that Bulgaria was its neighbour when it needed its nationalist and communist structures. Thus some Bulgarian parties easily become political pawns of the idea for a unilateral raising of the sanctions, by which it seems some in Bulgaria desire to place this country in isolation similar to the one in Serbia," the correspondent's report reads.

EC Experts Find No Foot-and-Mouth Disease

AU2509200393 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Sofia, September 25 (BTA)—There is no foot-and-mouth disease [FMD] in Bulgaria, an EC commission found after visiting the areas affected by the FMD epidemic last spring.

The EC experts came to check whether the infection risk had been fully eliminated. The experts visited Burgas, Elkhovo, Gulubovo, Simeonovgrad and Kapitan Andreevo, places where foot-and-mouth disease was diagnosed in the spring, and found that the infection no longer exists in Bulgaria. Bulgaria has a stable veterinary service which is a reliable barrier to any epidemics, Mr. Garret Davis of the EC believes.

Klaus Comments on Differences Within Coalition

AU2309062793 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Sep 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Klaus by Tomas Smrcka; place and date not given: "The Cohesion of the Coalition Is Not Very Great"]

[Text] [Smrcka] This week, the government has expressed principal agreement over the draft state budget for 1994. According to the government-proposed draft, the budget should be balanced. The opposition is pointing to the fact that a deficit-incurring budget would help remove problems in a number of sectors.

[Klaus] Our opposition does not fully understand what is a balanced and what is an unbalanced budget. If we ignore the possibility of taking a loan from the outside world, then the Czech Republic is a closed system, in which it is possible to have neither surplus, nor deficit, since we are always counting with every koruna. Calls for a deficit budget are calls for a greater role of the state in our society. If the state spends more money that it can get, then it must borrow money to make up for this difference. If we do not make use of the mediating role of the banks, then we must borrow from a third party.

[Smrcka] The opposition is pointing to the decline in the industrial and agricultural production.

[Klaus] A long-term decline of this production, which has been caused by the change of the economic system and which means the cessation of activities that are no longer desirable, is one thing. On the other hand, from the short-term point of view, the question is whether we want the economy to resume a faster growth. There are many confirming signals, but it is not quite clear whether this resumption would happen in the industrial and agricultural production as a whole. The continuation of the production decline does not have to necessarily be an exceptional and negative signal. It may mean that undesirable activities have not been eliminated from the economy.

[Smrcka] In the public opinion polls, the coalition enjoys the support of a constant number of its supporters. I perceive the numerous conflicts within the coalition as a consequence of differences in your personalities and characters rather than as principal ideological differences. Are you not afraid that the coalition can lose its supporters because of that?

[Klaus] One thing is how to judge the results of public opinion polls, and the other thing is, over what there are differences, and over what there are not. Just a short while ago, I received results from the Institute for Public Opinion Research applicable to the first week of September. A total of 32 percent were for the Civic Democratic Party, 8 percent for the Civic Democratic Alliance, 4 percent for the coalition Christian Democratic Union—the Czechoslovak People's Party, and 2 percent for the Christian Democratic Party. This is a total of 46 percent. A certain percentage of voters are undecided, or would give their votes to parties that will not make it to parliament, which will even improve the final results in our favor. I believe that there is no visible decline in voters' preferences within our political spectrum. In this respect, stability, as measured by election preferences, is very good. When evaluating individual parties, then with the 32 percent—without even counting the wasted votes [in the proportional election system]—the Civic Democratic Party would gain more votes in parliament that it has today, even without [the coalition with] the Christian Democratic Party. It seems to me that despite all the differences, voters' preferences—as measured by those indicators and not by real elections—are not very volatile.

If the government coalition can adopt identical views in 50, 60, or 90 percent of cases, then the fact that these differences assume overblown proportions is only a result of the attempts by some individuals to render themselves more visible. I am unable to make a really profound analysis of it. It is in vogue to say that those differences are mainly due to differences in personalities, and we are inclined to agree with that statement. However, I believe that there really are opinion differences, and the coalition is united mostly with respect to the opposition only. The real intrinsic homogeneity is really not so great, and it would be unfair to lie to ourselves.

Says Russian Events No Threat

AU2509141593 Prague CTK in English 0645 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Prague Sep 22 (CTK)—The Czech Government is closely following the developments in Russia which, it believes, do not threaten the Czech Republic's interests in the sphere of foreign policy, defence, interior or industry, Premier Vaclav Klaus said today.

He told journalists during a government session that the government believed Russia would succeed in preserving the fundamental course of reforms in both the political and economic spheres, and that the situation would be stabilised. This could be facilitated by elections, Klaus added.

The latest developments are part of the very complex situation in Russia of late, Klaus said. I think that it is very difficult to say whether this is only another episode, or a qualitatively new step in the overall developments, he pointed out, adding that the government was inclined to believe that the former alternative was correct.

It appears that transition from communism to a democratic state is much more complex and painful in Russia than in other countries, Klaus said.

This can be due to the fact that Russia's communist era was twice as long as in other countries, Klaus said.

Outlines Complications in Budget

AU2509143193 Prague CTK in English 0707 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Prague, Sep 22 (CTK)—The Czech Government has not yet put the final touches on the national budget for 1994 so a meeting has been set for September 24 in order for ministers to discuss the several matters still open, announced Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today at a press conference.

The meeting should result in the definite budget for 1994, he added.

The main complication in the final version's approval was the dividing up of public finances into various budgets, stated Klaus. The different funds which are a part of the state budget each have their own budget, such as the National Property Fund, the Land Fund, the Environment Fund, etc.

Klaus told reporters that funds' relatively substantial and significant budgets amounted to approximately one-tenth of the state budget. The government has already come up against their autonomy in sessions on the budget, although individual funds' revenues and expenses influence the overall results of the economy. It was no longer true that such budgets were only a fragment compared to the state budget, he said.

Every heller in the budget was being analysed, claimed Klaus, though funds' budgets were not being put through such scrutiny. In this regard, government members were playing with half-covered and half-open cards which constantly opens up new problems, he pointed out.

Though Klaus believed more funds came into being after 1989 than was healthy, he did not want to start dissolving them. However, it was necessary to make sure that no new ones arose for no reason.

The outline of the 1994 budget was approved by the government at its session in Zidlochovice, South Moravia, last week.

Disagrees With Havel

AU2409141393 Prague CTK in English 0712 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Prague Sep 22 (CTK)—The government does not consider the transformation of the Ministry for Economic Competition into an Anti-Monopoly Office independent of the government to be an essential issue, Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists today.

President Vaclav Havel discussed the possible creation of a more independent office with Minister for Economic Competition Stanislav Belehradek on September 20.

Presidential Spokesman Ladislav Spacek said that Havel believed the consideration of an entirely independent Anti-Monopoly Office suitable.

Klaus dismissed attempts to find contradictions between the government and the president because of this question.

According to Klaus, the position of the Anti-Monopoly Office in a stabilised market economy differed from that in one undergoing economic transformation.

Unlike the Anti-Monopoly Office in the atomised economy which investigates secret cartel agreements, in the inherited, entirely monopolised economy, the office is to improve competitive environment in the economic system, Klaus said.

This is its task during the transitive period, he added.

Thus, there is no reason for any change in its position, Klaus concluded.

Justifies Reducing Prague's Budget

AU2409140793 Prague CTK in English 0750 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Prague Sep 22 (CTK)—The Czech Government's decision to reduce subsidies to Prague next year is appropriate because its own revenues are now so big that the city does not need the same amount from the state as this year, Premier Vaclav Klaus said today.

He was reacting to Prague Mayor Jan Koukal's dissatisfaction with the proposed 1994 budget, which he conveyed to Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik on Monday [20 September].

In the latest version of the state budget for 1994, community subsidies are to reach 14 billion crowns (470 million USD), down from an original 17 billion (570 million USD).

Prague will get 2.5 billion crowns (84 million USD) less than this year.

The mayor is not saying that Prague's budget would decrease, but only that the amount the state is giving it is less. The move is exactly what it should be, considering the increase in Prague's own revenues, and, it is also fair to all other communities, Klaus said.

Havel Interviewed on Russia, Internal Politics

LD2609194493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Robert Tamchyna, in Prague Castle on 24 Sep; "Conversations at Lany" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Tamchyna] Mr. President, we are recording today's "Conversations" program on Friday 24 September. From the point of view of international politics, this has been without doubt a very hot week. [passage omitted]

What I would like to know, however, is what do you think about the position taken by some political parties with regard to the current developments in Russia?

[Havel] I think that what is going on in Russia should be understood as a kind of a revolutionary process, a revolutionary development. This country's path from totalitarianism to democracy is far more difficult than ours. Developments which in 1989 took several days or, at the longest, weeks have been taking disproportionately more time in Russia. I think that we should be aware of the purpose of the measures Yeltsin took. The old parliament, which came into being as long ago as in the Soviet era and whose structure is well known to us, had sufficient time to adopt a new democratic constitution. It was incapable of doing so. The current constitution is an old era constitution, a communist constitution which does not at all clarify relationships between the executive and legislative power. [passage omitted]

Given this situation, the objectives of President Yeltsin and his colleagues are quite clear. Their objective is to produce quickly, as soon as possible, a genuine democratic constitution which would clarify all these relationships. They want the supreme representative body to acquire a new shape corresponding to the new situation; they want people elected in genuinely free elections to be members of this body.

And I have to admit that I was very disappointed by the fact that, contrary to the entire democratic world, some officials of our opposition parties fail to grasp the inner sense and ethos of Yeltsin's activities and continue to stress the so-called unconstitutional character of his measures, thus insisting on what is in fact the unintelligible, muddled, strange letter of the existing constitutional state. They fail to understand that this is in fact a revolutionary process in which democracy is born, a new democratic structure of the state is born.

I have to admit that this is a bit alarming. I have the feeling that there are several fundamental things which should be understood by all, whether representatives of the coalition, whether representatives of the opposition.

The fundamental interest of our state is at stake and our state's obvious interest is that Russia does not attempt to become some sort of an imperialist power which is aggressive and partly totalitarian. Our interest is that it is a real, functioning democracy, a state building a market economy, a nonaggressive state cooperating with Europe. And this is what the people around Yeltsin are striving for.

I have to admit that I have been rather taken aback by the serious failure of some officials of our opposition parties to understand the inner sense of Yeltsin's activities.

[Tamchyna] What is your explanation of these kind of statements? It is obviously not a cheap fight any more to win votes.

[Havel] I would not like to attribute all sorts of dark intentions and reasons to those statements. I would rather say that they are an expression of a forced effort at all costs to take a different view from the one of the coalition, at all costs to show themselves to be in the opposition.

However, my view is that there are certain issues which concern the system itself and not just specific policies of individual parties, [which concern] the basis itself of our state, its fundamental foreign policy interests. My view is that in this sphere every single party which considers itself to be building our statehood should be more responsible and not succumb to the efforts to hold a different view from the ruling coalition at all costs.

For instance, I can understand that it is inevitable for the Social Democrats, if they want to be Social Democrats, to hold a slightly different view on economic reform that the one held by the ruling coalition. I fully respect this. However, I do not understand what forces [Social Democracy] chairman [Milos] Zeman to describe the ruling coalition's policy as stupid. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, earlier in the week you commented on the results of the early elections in Poland. However, I would like to recall a statement by the leader of their winner—the Democratic Left Union, Aleksander Kwasniewski. He said that the main obstacle to reforms in Poland was neither the left-wing forces, nor the right-wing forces, as it was population's disenchantment. Applying this to our political scene, do you not see roots of a similar disenchantment in our various small and bigger affairs? [passage omitted]

[Havel] The situation in Poland and in our country is a little different. Poland was burdened with enormous debts. Our state debt was under some control even in the time of the most conservative totalitarian communist government. [passage omitted]

The economic situation in Poland was totally different and the population's frustation and unwillingness to bear the impact of reforms is a social phenomenon the roots of which are understandable, to a certain extent, when taking into account Poland's rather different situation. [passage omitted]

Zieleniec Told Intermediate EC Membership Ruled Out

AU2709130993 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Sep 93 p 25

[Report by Jan Zizka: "The Czech Republic's Intermediate Membership in the EC Is Out of the Question"]

[Text] An intermediate stage of membership of the Czech Republic in the EC—with the status ensuing from the association treaty—as proposed by some Czech representatives some time ago, is out of the question, and this is not an issue at present.

This is what sources within the Czech delegation at the meeting of chiefs of diplomacy of the EC troika and the six countries of Central Europe in Brussels told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on Tuesday [21 September]. Four of them—Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania—have already concluded association treaties with the Twelve. The signatures on European treaties with the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic are expected to appear shortly. Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec participated in the first meeting at ministerial level—within the framework of a political dialogue that is envisaged by the said treaties. Members of the Czech delegation also said that during the meeting with the EC, no attention is paid to the existence of the Visegrad Three, and the Twelve adopts the same attitude toward all six countries. He described as progress the obligation assumed by the EC at the Copenhagen summit in July, according to which the EC will discuss the membership of individual countries separately.

Minister Zieleniec stressed at the Brussels meeting that the Czech Republic is interested in non-permanent membership of the Security Council and said that Prague was aware of the responsibility involved in membership of the Security Council. He said that specific signs of the political will of the Czech Republic are creating prerequisites for this membership, and experts are participating in UN troop activities in former Yugoslavia and in other peace-keeping operations, among other things, in Iraq, and they also participate in CSCE security-related activities. Zieleniec also said that the Czech Republic intends to continue those practices. The main attention of the UN should be directed, according to him, toward the roots and sources of the conflicts in the world. "The United Nations, too—an organization established 50 years ago—will have to adapt, in a certain way, to the new situation in the world," the chief of Czech diplomacy added.

Further points on the agenda of the meeting of ministers were, apart from mutual relations, French Prime Minister Balladur's plan to create an European security system, the upcoming Council of Europe summit in Vienna in October, and the situation in Russia, Ukraine, and former Yugoslavia.

Zieleniec Returns From Baltic Republics

LD2509214993 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec has returned to Prague from his visit to the Baltic Republics. On arrival, he said that the Czech Republic and the former Soviet Baltic Republics share a wide-ranging group of views and hold similar ideas about the future. All three Baltic countries are striving for economic transformation, learning from the Czech experience which they view as an example.

Josef Zieleniec's four-day visit to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia focussed on several issues, including an assessment of the situation in Russia. All three governments emphatically expressed their hope and conviction that Boris Yeltsin's steps will be successful and that Russia will arrive at democratic elections. The possibility of a different development seriously alarms them.

During Zieleniec's stop-over in Warsaw on his return, Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Iwo Byczewski assured Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec about the continuity of Polish foreign policy and about its prowestern orientation

Political Parties React to Events in Russia

AU2509142393 Prague CTK in English 0639 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Prague Sep 22 (CTK)—Boris Yeltsin's effort to solve the power crisis in Russia by calling free elections is considered correct by the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the government coalition party's spokesman, Jan Rejzek, told CTK today.

Premier Vaclav Klaus' Civic Democratic Party (ODS) shares the view of Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec (ODS), which he expressed before his departure for the Baltics today: The latest developments in Russia cannot be torn out of the context of the overall changes in the country, ODS Spokeswoman Jana Petrova told CTK.

Zieleniec also pointed out that events which occurred in our country within one or two weeks of the fall of the communist regime in late 1989 have been taking months in Russia.

A statement issued by the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), also a government coalition member, says that the dissolution of parliament and the calling of new elections in Russia is the only possible step President Yeltsin could take to solve the deadlocked situation when the parliament and government oppose one another.

The KDS called steps taken by Vice President Alexander Rutskoy an attempt at a coup d'etat and seizure of power. Due to his moves, Russia is now standing at the threshold of civil war, the statement said.

The chairman of the parliamentary opposition Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), Milos Zeman, said that the CSSD unequivocally supports parliamentary democracy. It considers the presidential regime a certain, though limited, form of dictatorship. We support all steps leading to the strengthening of parliamentary democracy, including elections, if they can clear up the political scene, Zeman said.

The chairman of the Liberal National Social Party (LSNS), Pavel Hirs, said today the LSNS considered Yeltsin's decision to dissolve parliament and the Congress of People's Deputies a necessary step on the road to solving the complex situation, in which the two bodies reject all reform-oriented activities of the government and president.

The LSNS splintered off the parliamentary opposition Liberal Social Union (LSU) in late May.

KSCM Opposes Official Assessment of Russian Events

AU2709131393 Prague CTK in English 1343 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Prague Sep 23 (CTK)—The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) believes that the Czech Government's assessment of the current situation in Russia does not correspond to reality, KSCM Deputy Chairman Miloslav Ransdorf told journalists today.

It is not one person or a party, but a democratic civic society and the Russian people who can settle the current crisis in Russia, he said.

Ransdorf warned that a steep decline in the Russian economy, for example in oil production, and foreign investors' mistrust of the Russian market could mean an appreciable threat for the Czech Republic.

KSCM Chairman Miroslav Grebenicek said there were many clashes of interests in the Russian domestic and foreign politics and the economy and that neither Russian President Boris Yeltsin's energetic non-constitutional measures nor the current scenario of economic reform guaranteed that conditions for a democratic society in Russia would be created.

KSCM representatives stressed that the results of Polish parliamentary elections in which the left-wing parties won was both an impulse for the Czech left and a warning. It was a warning because at present the Czech left lacked the politicians and experience of the Polish social democrats and trade unions.

They said the Polish election results were a natural reaction to the shock therapy of Polish economic reform which, although it brought economic growth, was unbearable socially.

LSU's Trnka: Support for Yeltsin 'Precipitous'

AU2409132693 Prague CTK in English 1304 GMT 22 Sep 93

[Text] Prague Sep 22 (CTK)—The Liberal Social Union (LSU) Chairman Frantisek Trnka believes that support for Russian President Boris Yeltsin in his clash with the Russian Parliament which has been expressed by some presidents, including Czech President Vaclav Havel, is precipitous.

Trnka told CTK today he considered the reaction to be not good because political leaders were not sure whether the steps undertaken by the Russian president who dissolved parliament are in full accordance with the Russian Constitution.

I am not an expert on the Russian Constitution, but I am afraid that not all the measures (by Yeltsin) correspond it, Trnka said.

He said it was not at all appropriate to interfere in the situation in Russia, even if only with statements. I think I grasp the situation if I say that we are not glad when somebody interferes into our internal affairs, he said.

Anticommunist Law To Be Constitutional Court's First Case

AU2509141393 Prague CTK in English 1340 GMT 22 Sep 93

[Text] Brno Sep 22 (CTK)—A proposal supported by 41 deputies to repeal the law on the resistance against and illegality of the former communist regime is set to become the first case to obtain a public hearing in the Constitutional Court, Court Chairman Zdenek Kessler told CTK.

The court asked Milan Uhde, chairman of the parliament, to appoint the person to represent the parliament and it asked Deputy Jaroslav Ortman, the first on the list of dissenters, to name the group's spokesman. They have 30 days to do it, Kessler said.

It will also be necessary to check the deputies' signatures as most of them appear on a free sheet of paper instead of one bearing the text of the proposal.

We want to determine who wrote the proposal just in case some of the group said their signatures did not pertain to the actual text.

The Constitutional Court in Brno received the proposal Sep 17.

New Arms Industry Products Presented

AU2409075593 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Sep 93 p 2

[Report by "vap, hej": "The Number of Members of the RDP Arms Industry Group Will Triple"]

[Text] Brno—The modernized T-72 tank offered by the RDP [Research Development Production] Group should be about 60 percent cheaper than the purchase of a new French Le Clerc tank, which would now cost our Army between $6 and $8 million, Jan Vlcek, general director of the RDP Group, told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY at the Brno Engineering Fair yesterday. The modernized T-72 tank, the most expensive version of which will be ready in prototype within two years, will be compatible with NATO standards.

The RDP Group associates 12 privatized companies (including Skoda Plzen, Liaz, Avia, and Zdar Engineering and Foundry Works) with a total of about 60,000 employees. The admission of at least 23 more companies is expected during the general meeting of shareholders later this month. The subject of the activity of the RDP Group is the coordination of the efforts of Czech producers of special technology.

The RDP Group is highly interested in becoming involved in the concept of our Army's reequipment, which is now under preparation. The group's representatives have already held negotiations with the Ministries of Industry and Defense. Apart from that, it also counts on exports of military equipment. "We will coordinate our activities with French, American, and British firms. We will strictly abide by international rules governing exports [of military equipment]," Jan Vlcek stated. According to RDP Press Spokesman Jaroslav Hudec, the company will not, however, exploit the current legal vacuum, caused by the fact that the recently passed law on exports of military equipment will not come into effect until 1 January 1994.

The first two products of the RDP Group were presented to the public at the Brno Engineering Fair. Skoda Ejpovice has produced, under license from the French Marrel company, a container superstructure [kontejnerova nastavba] for trucks, that can be used in both the military and civilian sectors. The Avia Prague joint stock company caused a surprise at the fair with its light off-road automobile, which it intends to manufacture in cooperation with the French Auverland company. Avia expects to conclude a joint venture agreement by the end of this year and to produce about 1,000 of these simple, robust vehicles next year. Another product offered by the RDP Group, according to our information, is a light truck from Agrozet Roudnice, which is not only intended for the Czech Army.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES on 17 September on pages 1 and 14 publishes three reports, ranging between 200 and 600 words, that provide additional details on Avia's off-road vehicle project. According to MLADA FRONTA DNES, the prototype presented in Brno had been assembled from foreign components, including a Peugeot engine, but "exclusively domestic components should be used from next year on." The four-wheel-drive vehicle is said to be available with diesel or gasoline engines of 1,600 to 1,900 cubic centimeters and to cost "about 650,000 korunas." The RDP Group's aim, according to MLADA FRONTA DNES, is for the Avia jeep "to replace the GAZ and UVAZ jeeps, used by the Czech Army and other former Warsaw Pact armies, whose service life is coming to an end. In view of its good riding characteristics, deliveries to the armies of some NATO states are also expected. France has reportedly expressed its interest in the vehicle already." In a brief interview for MLADA FRONTA DNES, Avia General Director Vlastimil Devera expresses optimism that the vehicle can "hold its own, even in NATO armies" because it is a "vehicle of world parameters" and because the producer is able to supply it "in various modifications conforming to individual territories. It is obvious, for example, that, for the French Army, the vehicle will have to be provided with a Peugeot engine." Devera also mentions that he accompanied Minister of Industry and Trade Dlouhy on his recent trip to Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan where the vehicle "met with a very positive response." Devera notes that, of the 1,000 vehicles to be produced next year, 300 should be sold in the Czech Republic and 700 abroad.]

Romanian President Iliescu Meets With Meciar

AU2409121393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0910 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava ROMPRES 24/9/1993—The second day of the state visit to Slovakia of Romania's President Ion Iliescu started early with a meeting at his guest residence with Slovakia's Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar at a working breakfast.

Later in the morning the president of Romania delivered a speech at the Slovak National Council (parliament) about the present preoccupations of Romania, almost identical with those of Slovakia, for the implementation of the economic reform, the observance of the fundamental human rights and liberties, the establishment of good neighbourliness relations with all the countries in the area, for integration in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. The Romanian president pointed out the beneficial effect of sub-regional cooperation, be that the Black-Sea cooperation zone, the Central-European initiative, or the Danube countries' collaboration project.

President Iliescu expressed the hope that Romania's application for admission to the Council of Europe would find a positive reflection in the parliamentary session due to start on 27 September and that "our Slovak friends will render us their unreserved support."

The Romanian head of state also referred to European security and to Romania's willingness to cooperate with NATO, underlining that, in this respect "Central and East-European countries should be treated indiscriminately."

About the ethnic minorities issue President Ion Iliescu said the matter "cannot be solved by documents, but by strengthening the rule of law, by raising the living standard of all citizens," and warned against the menace posed by revisionist and extremist-nationalist ideologies.

Addresses Parliament

LD2409151293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] A Romanian Government delegation led by President Ion Iliescu started its visit to Slovakia yesterday, and today, at a working breakfast with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, President Iliescu discussed bilateral relations and the possibility of a broader cooperation within the framework of European relations. After breakfast, the Romanian representatives visited our parliament. Correspondent Vanda Gregorova reports:

[Begin Gregorova recording] Today's deliberations were interrupted by the Romanian delegation's visit and an address to the deputies made by the Romanian president. He opened his speech by underlining the importance of the existing friendship between Romania and Slovakia and went on to deal with issues topical for both Romania and Slovakia that he described as almost identical.

Regarding internal policy, Romania wanted to further realize the democratic process aimed at the creation of a law-abiding state, economic reform, and market economy. He emphasized that Romania wanted to see the emergence of a socially aware market economy.

The aim of Romanian foreign policy was the country's integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Dealing with this point, Ion Iliescu pointed out that recently almost all Western structures had emphasized that many problems could be solved only through regional cooperation. In this context it was necessary to utilize the development potential inherent in economic cooperation between all the states affiliated to the EC. Although some hesitant steps in this direction had already been made, Romania wanted to support them by concluding further agreements, particularly in the sphere of free trade. Such cooperation would benefit regional groupings on the one hand and on the other, above all, such land-locked countries as Slovakia. In this direction, a great role was being played by the artery linking Slovakia and Romania—the river Danube.

Iliescu went on to recall that recently the world press had speculated about possible changes regarding the borders of the region, which also includes Slovakia and Romania. According to Iliescu, such speculations were the product of hot heads who believed that even on the threshold of the 21st century Europe should find itself in a geographical situation identical with that of the pre-First World War era.

The Romanian president also paid great attention to the minorities issue. According to Iliescu, such problems could not be resolved by documents only, but by strengthening the role of a law-abiding state able to ensure human rights for all citizens. Iliescu said that the Slovak minority in Romania played the role of a bridge for mutual dialogue between our two countries. He praised the subtle humor of the Slovaks living in Romania and their economic accomplishments.

In conclusion, the Romanian president expressed assurances that Slovakia would always find in Romania a loyal friend on whom she could rely in every situation. [end recording]

[Later on in the same news bulletin the following is reported: "This day in parliament had its special moments—Romanian President Ion Iliescu addressed the deputies. The rest of the time was filled discussing other issues."

"During Romanian President Iliescu's speech in the Slovak Parliament, the coalition of Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement—Coexistence (Koalicia Madarske Krestansko-Democraticke Hnutie—Spoluzitie) deputies left the hall"]

Visits Danube Hydropower Complex

AU2409191793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1640 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava, ROMPRES, 24/9/1993—Continuing his visit in Slovakia, Romania's President Ion Iliescu and the delegation accompanying him sailed on board a speed boat on the Danube to the Gabchikovo hydro-electric power complex on the Danube, downstream Bratislava, near Slovakia's frontier with Hungary. The Romanian head of state was welcomed by Julius Bindar, director-general of the Investment and Building Department of Slovakia. President Iliescu was outlined the specific problems of the activity in that complex and the current stage of building works and the Slovak-Hungarian dispute regarding the partial diversion of the Danube course in that zone. It was shown that Slovakia considered that the disagreement with Hungary could be overcome, and one of the arguments was that in many parts of Europe similar constructions did not generate any disputed issue.

After the visit to the Gabchikovo hydro-electric power complex, President Ion Iliescu and his delegation went to Zvolan and laid wreaths to the Memorial to the Romanian Heroes, at the Central Military Cemetery of the Romanian Army, where are buried 10,380 Romanian heroes killed in the fight for Slovakia's liberation in 1945, during the World War II.

President Iliescu had a last round of talks on Friday afternoon at Hrad with President Mihal Kovac, after which they signed in the presence of the members of the two delegations the treaty of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the Slovak Republic.

The two presidents then answered questions posed by numerous journalists in a brief news conference.

Signs Accord With Kovac

AU2409191993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] President Ion Iliescu and the Slovak President Michal Kovac signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the Slovak Republic today at around 1900 Bucharest time [1600 GMT].

The signing ceremony was followed by brief statements from the two presidents and by a news conference.

In his speech, after he referred to the meetings that he held today with Slovak political figures, President Iliescu assessed the visit as a major political event. The main goal of the development of relations between our countries was the signing of a treaty that lays the legal foundation for bilateral cooperation, said Mr. Ion Iliescu.

The Romanian President said: At meetings with officials held during this visit to the Slovak Republic, we had an exchange of opinions regarding international events and about the participation of the two countries in international bodies, which is a constructive factor of stability in this area.

In turn, President Michal Kovac, after expressing thanks for the support that Romania granted at the time of the establishment of the Slovak Republic and the support in international bodies, assessed President Iliescu's visit as very important because it had succeeded in creating conditions for mutual consultations in all areas. The goals of the two countries are common, said President Kovac, namely, to establish a democratic state of law, to turn the economy of the two countries into market economies, and to ensure integration into European structures.

The president of the Slovak Republic said that the talks that they had held revealed a joint interest in coordinating the two countries' policy on minorities. Similarly, President Kovac expressed the hope that the visit will stimulate initiatives in the area of culture, science, and elsewhere, and also expressed the hope that other bilateral accords, such as an accord on double taxation or on the mutual protection of investment, will also be concluded soon.

Holds News Conference

LD2409210393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Excerpts] The Romanian delegation, headed by President Ion Iliescu, ended their official visit to Slovakia today. Shortly before their departure from Milan Rastislav Stefanik Airport in Bratislava, a news conference took place at Bratislava Castle during which the presidents of the two countries, Ion Iliescu and Michal Kovac, answered journalists' questions.

Vanda Gregorova reports more in detail:

[Gregorova] [Passage omitted] The Romanian president said that security matters concerning both countries is important and great attention should be paid to them in the future. In this context he recalled the existing cooperation between the interior ministries, above all in tackling problems of illegal border crossing and smuggling. This assumes a new dimension in the new political and economic conditions, the Romanian president stressed, and therefore it should not be underestimated. [passage omitted]

Slovak President Michal Kovac expressed hope that Ion Iliescu will return to Slovakia for a visit in less than a year's time to attend the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising.

Concluding his visit, Ion Iliescu stressed that it is necessary for Slovakia and Romania to exchange not only their experiences and views on the events on the world political scene but also those concerning their common neighbors.

Ion Iliescu thanked Kovac for the way he was received in Slovakia and invited Michal Kovac to visit Romania, assuring him that the Romanian president's visit to Slovakia will be followed by a visit by the Romanian prime minister.

Kovac Says December May Be Critical for Meciar

LD2609165493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] The latest issue of the Swiss weekly DIE WELTWOCHE has published a page-long interview with President Michal Kovac.

Michal Kovac said in the interview that the minority government of Vladimir Meciar will find itself in a critical situation, most probably in December when the [1994] budget is being approved. The government will need a two-third majority. That will be far from guaranteed if the parliament fails to agree. An interim situation would arise under which a minority government could survive for another three months.

Michal Kovac also spoke about the position of minorities. He said for example that in education, social policy, and culture—which are decisive if the Hungarian minority is to survive—Slovakia has an excellent record on all important counts. When the border was defined by the Trianon Treaty in 1920, there were around 550,000 Hungarians living on the Slovak side of the border. About an identical number of Slovaks lived on the Hungarian side. Today, 600,000 people in Slovakia describe their origin as Hungarian. In Hungary, a maximum of 110,000 persons say they are Slovak.

All this is not just a coincidence, President Michal Kovac said in the interview for the Swiss weekly DIE WELTWOCHE.

Meciar Opposes Early Elections, Rejects Devaluation

LD2609214893 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1810 GMT 26 Sep 93

[TV address by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening, esteemed fellow citizens: A meeting of government members held in Trencianske Teplice yesterday—which in fact lasted until today because it ended after midnight—attracted some curiosity about what the government was doing there. We discussed internal problems within the government. [passage omitted]

We clarified our views to each other and looked for future common stances. The meeting ended on a note of trust in our strength, conviction about it, optimism. [passage omitted]

Let me tell you that no devaluation is being prepared. The Slovak Republic does not need a second devaluation. The level of hard currency reserves of the National Bank of Slovakia is sufficient to enable the stabilization of our currency. [passage omitted]

The condition for increasing the reserves is calm, creative work, and a peaceful political atmosphere on the home scene.

Of course, this sphere has begun to undergo some changes, changes of views, because the parliamentary discussion have started. [passage omitted]

Three laws concerning social issues were withdrawn by the government because we could not be sure that those bills would be adopted. However, this does not mean that we cannot return to them later. [passage omitted]

We are sorry that a bill on the National Security Council was not included in the agenda. Fooling around with this sort of issue is not in the interest of the citizens of our republic. [passage omitted]

There are roughly three clear political trends detectable in the discussion of the National Council. One trend is to attack the government, it is the effort to provoke a government crisis, to strip the prime minister of his post, to get rid of the government. Who is behind this? Christian Democrats, supporters of [former Slovak foreign minister Milan] Knazko, and recently, more frequently, also [chairman of the Slovak National Party Ludovit] Cernak.

However, the other wing is also detectable in the stand taken by the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] that issues should not be tackled in the parliament in this way and that they should be decided by our public instead.

[Word indistinct] people around [Christian Democratic Movement chairman Jan]] Carnogursky, Knazko, and Cernak would like to overthrow the government and form a new one. They would have to rely on succeeding in causing a further disintegration of the deputies from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. I do not consider this to be probable, or even possible. It depends exclusively on causing unrest and [instilling] the feeling that there is no way out.

The SDL offers another alternative. They say: Let us reject parliament plotting, let us not destabilize [groups of deputies], let the will of voters expressed in the elections decide. We totally agree with them on this, there is no difference between us on this.

Though each deputy has his mandate and is responsible to his own conscience, he cannot abandon the program, he cannot escape the fact that before the elections he put down that he runs on behalf of a party or a movement and not as independent. [passage omitted]

This is why the SDL proposes that as such doubts were already cast and there is danger of this happening again, the best solution would be new elections. [passage omitted]

Our proposal is that the best solution would be to calm the situation, to turn from disputes to a dialogue which would lead to matter-of-fact and correct decisions. [passage omitted]

In the event that such talks end in failure, let the citizens decide. Of course, such a decision must be assessed from a political point of view by all the bodies of our movement and our deputies' club, and it has to be accepted by our public, too.

My personal view is that elections are not necessary. All the variants which can lead to other solutions have not been exhausted yet. However, if it comes to this, it is necessary to face our citizens with honor, responsibility, to account for our work, and strive to achieve the best possible results.

The issues of political stability and the lack of it are the subject of many speculations. Slovakia is a politically stable country. Slovakia is forming, completing its democratic system. However, it is rather misleading to suggest that this stability depends exclusively on whether the opposition can achieve a vote of no confidence in the government. Because saying that means asking what will follow, with whom in the future, what will be the power balance? Who are those people who want to take charge of public affairs? Those whom our citizens rejected? Is this going to be an expression of our citizens' free will or of parliamentary speculations and acts behind the scene? I did not and do not support such trends. [passage omitted]

I would like to draw the attention of all those who are in charge of state money to the fact that the government adopted a resolution which prohibits the purchase of products abroad if it is possible to buy them from Slovak producers—providing the quality and price are appropriate. [passage omitted]

When we said that our market should be open above all to our producers to sell products we have produced, this really applies also to the use of state and government resources. [passage omitted]

Moravcik: Russian Treaty Ratification Delayed

AU2409143793 Prague CTK in English 0650 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava Sep 22 (CTK)—It is not possible to predict further developments in Russia, only to hope that the reform trend will continue, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik told CTK today.

It is necessary to put off the ratification of the basic Slovak-Russian treaty signed by the two countries' presidents during Boris Yeltsin's visit to Slovakia on August 26, as due to the current situation, the Russian parliament cannot be expected to discuss this point at its session, noted Moravcik, who is a member of the ruling Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS).

Independent parliamentary deputy Milan Knazko, the head of the Alliance of Slovak Democrats (ADS) and former Slovak foreign minister, said that the concentration of power and the policy of confrontation and non-cooperation usually results in chaos. The chaos itself then necessitates a strong arm, he said.

Features of a similar policy can be seen in our country as well, he stressed, adding that he believed that a policy of cooperation would be pushed through in Slovakia.

The minority Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) pointed out the unstable political situation a long time ago, stated MKDH Chairman Pal Csaky. That is why Slovakia should consider what its mutual commitments with Russia will be, he stressed.

Chairman of the Slovak Parliament's Foreign Committee, Ivan Laluha, said that the developments in Russia only stressed the necessity of the fastest possible integration of Slovakia into Western European political, economic and security structures.

Independent Parliamentary Deputy Peter Brnak told CTK that a shiver ran down my spine while watching televised reports from Russia. He refused to comment on the Russian-Slovak treaty and military agreement signed on August 26, as he did not know the documents in detail. He said that he saw economic cooperation with an important eastern partner as necessary. However, Slovakia should not try too hard to link itself with the East, Brnak concluded.

KDH Backs Government Stance on Russian Events

LD2309161393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The first day of the session of the Slovak Parliament and the situation in Russia were the main subjects of the regular news conference given by the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] today. Anna Vargova has a few details.

[Vargova] It is being shown that Boris Yeltsin has after all prepared the latest step, and that in terms of power he has succeeded in coping with the situation. For this he deserves recognition. This is what KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky said at the start of the news conference. At the same time, he described the stance and statement adopted by the Slovak Government in this respect as a correct one. This was because according to him, Slovakia was nearer to Russia than were the United States or the Czech Republic who openly backed Yeltsin. Our geopolitical situation was different. We depended on good relations with Russia regardless who was in power there.

He added in the same breath that we were naturally not indifferent to who was in power in Russia.

KDH Vice Chairman Ivan Simko added that the Russian Constitution was a mere hybrid, and did not provide opportunities to tackle crises situations. The proof of this was the fact that by his decision Boris Yeltsin had violated the constitution. The Supreme Soviet had done the same, and so had the self-appointed President Aleksandr Rutskoy. In his view, the situation in our country was better since our parliament had been democratically elected, although our constitution, too, did not in many instances provide solutions of crises issues. [passage omitted]

Toth: Government Wants To Stop Economic Decline

LD2709093493 Prague CTK in English 0751 GMT 27 Sep 93

[Text] Washington, Sept 27 (CTK)—Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth told CTK on Sunday that the government would strive for economic decline to be stopped in the first half of next year and replaced by economic growth.

Toth took part on Sunday in a session of the interim committee of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

He mentioned IMF analyses of the Belgian group, which is comprised of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Belarus and Kazakhstan. According to it, Toth said, Slovakia was heading for a market economy.

He said that the analyses noted that Slovakia had faced many problems arising from building its independence following the split of Czechoslovakia as of January 1, 1993.

The only negative feature of economic developments in Slovakia, as seen from outside, is privatisation which has been partially stagnating, Toth said.

He stressed the importance of foreign capital for restructuring Slovakia's economy.

A new state must win confidence of financial circles. The purchase of 250 million USD worth of debentures issued by the Slovak national bank on Japan's financial market three weeks ago was a signal for investors that Slovakia is a trustworthy country, Toth said.

Rudolf Filkus Expelled From HZDS Ranks

AU2409140593 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Bratislava Sep 23 (CTK)—The local branch of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) expelled former Slovak Ambassador to Austria Rudolf Filkus from the movement yesterday.

Hvezdon Koctuch (HZDS), chairman of the Economic and Budgetary Committee of the Slovak Parliament, told CTK today that Filkus had evidently been expelled because of his criticism of the government and the HZDS.

It must be considered whether a leading representative of a political party and a senior state official can speak about tension and discrepancies between the president and the premier, Koctuch stated.

Filkus formerly held the offices of Slovak minister for economic strategy (1990-1991), chairman of the HZDS Executive Council (1991-1993) and deputy premier of the last Czechoslovak Government in 1992.

He was dismissed from his latest post September 13.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar had been urging Kovac to dismiss Filkus since late August, citing Filkus' multiple unloyal activities towards Slovakia's state-power executive body.

Alliance of Democrats, Entrepreneurs Sign Accord

AU2309161993 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Sep 93 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "From Yesterday's Briefings" column: "The Alliance of Democrats—They Made an Agreement With the Entrepreneurs"]

[Text] J. Hudak, at the beginning of a news conference, informed journalists about the conclusions of an accord between the Alliance of Democrats and the Party of Entrepreneurs. The subject of the accord is to establish expert groups to cooperate in solving problems related to private enterprise, banking, and financing. Through the Club of Independent Deputies [headed by former foreign Minister Knazko] the Party of Entrepreneurs would like to push for their interests.

Antall Views Russian Events, Rise of Left

LD2509165893 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0905 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by "editor-reporter" Jozsef P. Szabo; in the studio; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Szabo] [Passage omitted] I will start with Russia, with what happened in Moscow, to which the Hungarian Government, obviously not by accident, reacted so rapidly and decisively, in support of the proreform forces. But the same thing was expressed also in the letter which Mr. Prime Minister addressed to President Yeltsin and which Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky handed over in Moscow a few days before the events.

[Antall] Naturally, internal Russian political events—since we are talking about a major Euroasian nuclear power and a world power—cannot be viewed merely as domestic political issues. This is shown by the world reaction and, without overestimating our significance, by the Hungarian reaction as well.

I wrote the letter on 14 September, in other words well before the dissolution of parliament or Yeltsin's measures. And this letter dated 14 September was handed over by Geza Jeszenszky on 20 September, that is prior to the Russian events. In this letter, it is clear that we, just as others, could feel that there was a possibility for such a step to take place. This Russian conflict cannot be maintained, be it from the domestic-political, economic-political, foreign, or security-political points of view. Well, there had been certain moves, including Yetsin's visits to certain armed units and certain political statements. So, when I wrote this letter on 14 September, I thought its significance lies in the fact that as far as the forces of restoration are concerned we still see no alternative to Yeltsin who can carry through the reforms. And several things had to be pointed out here, which are important from this point of view.

I can mention that when the Hungarian Government reacted and issued a statement together with the leading powers, we pointed out not only that Yeltsin had chosen the democratic path of a domestic political-constitutional-legal solution, but we also pointed out the responsibility of the world and of the West with regard to our entire region and with regard to Russia as well.

Another important element of the above letter was to get to know the Russian stance on the issue of the Atlantic alliance and of Atlantic integration. And that is what we were reacting to.

Furthermore, at the end of the letter, there was a call for parliament to ratify the Russian-Hungarian basic treaty. The fact that it had not been done was no accident. After all, this parliament was not in such a hurry to ratify this issue. Here I can note straight away that on 6 December 1991, when we signed the Russian-Hungarian basic treaty—Russia being the first—then the altering of the Russian stance in connection with 1956 had already formed a part of a lengthy preparation and discussion.

It is worth alluding to this because certain reports, referring to statements, press communiques, or other diplomatic sources, are making it seem as if we only dealt with this issue at the last moment. This does not accord with reality. We already had discussions in Moscow in 1990 about altering the Russian stance, or the Soviet stance, in connection with 1956. We asked them to condemn the intervention or to dissociate themselves from it. At the Paris summit meeting in November 1990, At my separate discussions with Gorbachev, I highlighted this as an important criterion. I can mention here that President Gorbachev told me to find a good formula with which we could resolve this. We are well acquainted with the Soviet domestic situation prior to the putsch, which was not all that favorable for the Soviet Union condemning the 1956 intervention. And then at that particular last important international appearance, on 6 December 1991, at a press conference, Gorbbachev himself also took a stand on the matter of 1956. In the course of the bilateral preparation [of the basic treaty] they were not willing to do this.

And that is why this came up at those discussions, because that is where Yeltsin was willing to make his statement connected with 1956, which this parliament, in its foreign affairs committee, naturally, tried not to accept. Well, I think that afterwards Yeltsin's appearance here, his visit to Plot 301 [of Budapest cemetery where rehabilitated heroes of 1956 have been reburied], indicates that the Hungarian Government represented this stance very steadfastly, very consistently.

[Szabo] So there is a difference of views between the antireform forces and Yeltsin on this issue as well?

[Antall] There is a serious difference of views. And it is also clear that the principled condemnation of 1956, or the fact that it should be recanted by the Soviet side—later the Russian side—and acceptance that the intervention had been illegal, were key issues all along also in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet troops. After all, it is also a key issue of the financial accounting that after 1955, after the conclusion of the Austrian state treaty, there was no legal justification for the Soviet troops being in Hungary. So, the 1956 intervention occurred from the Soviet side without any bilateral agreement, without any international legal, or any other legal conditions. After all, it was only in 1957, then in 1958, that Kadar and his people concluded a bilateral agreement. So, in 1956 the intervention was unacceptable from the legal, political, international-legal points of view, in every way. So, we have looked upon this issue not only as a declaration in principle, but as an outstanding legal event of the discussion on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

[Szabo] To come back to the week's Moscow events. How is it, in the prime minister's opinion, that in

Washington they are debating how it happened that these events took the Clinton administration by surprise, that they were unprepared for them?

[Antall] Well, I do not want to qualify this. [passage omitted] I think that anyone who knows the east-central European and eastern ritual often senses what will happen when. We generally recognize this moment. This is also shown by the letter which, as I say, I wrote on 14 September and which the foreign minister handed over prior to the announcement. And that is why I considered it important that at the time when the Hungarian Government statement appears, then at the same time, this statement should likewise be forwarded in Moscow by our ambassador as an enclosure in a direct letter. We reacted very quickly. It was very important that we did this not through a foreign ministerial statement or through a statement by, let us say, a spokesman, or through any other kind of statement, but that we should take a stand at the government level, with full determination. It is our conviction that only the victory of the reform forces, or at least their—obviously lasting—success can represent a solution. And the [word indistinct] scenario simply contains nothing for us.

[Szabo] All the same, the world reaction to the Moscow events shows that the West, including the United States as well, naturally, does not always pay sufficient attention to what happens here in Eastern Europe, in central Eastern Europe. The reaction was the same in connection with what happened in Poland, in connection with the results of the Polish elections.

[Antall] [Passage omitted] What an American or a West European analyst looks at is that in this former communist region endeavors of, to put it crudely, a roll-back, a restoration, are being asserted, that it is a question of pragmatic communists who are in any case already forgetful ideologically, who have long ago forgotten and renounced their own ideas, who want to get back into power, and who, in accordance with this in every such case—take the Lithuanian example, or the Polish example—represent a precedent and they want to exploit it. [passage omitted]

About the Polish issue, nevertheless, I would like to say... [pauses] and it is obvious that one has an evolved opinion and that there are various evolved possibilities. But since I am at present prime minister and it is possible that the day after tomorrow I will have to talk to the new Polish prime minister, whoever that may be, and since we have our cooperation in the Visegrad Club, if you like, or on the issue of the EC association, I do not wish to make qualifying statements. In any case, it is not seemly for me to judge the entire Polish domestic political situation at this stage, either from the personal or from a party angle, or to predict odds with regard to the government, but I can obviously reply in principle.

[Szabo] Let us go on to domestic events or to the expected domestic events, the elections. I wonder if the trend which we can read about in the world press, that is the strengthening of leftwing forces, about what has happened in Lithuania or Poland, can this trend also appear in the Hungarian elections?

[Antall] First of all, this belongs to the category of predictions. [passage omitted] With regard to what phenomena could occur, well, on the basis of the Polish phenomena a comparison can be made with the Hungarian situation insofar as the economic-social transformation does have negative effects which are manifested in every country and which can be exploited by representatives of the former regime or of the successor parties, which can be from the viewpoint of the entrepreneur, of the employee, or any other viewpoint regarding the interests of representational organizations or politicians.

Going beyond this, on the other hand, the political transformation indicates politically that society is finding it extremely hard to accept the disadvantages that go with the transformation. To this I would like to add that the Polish standard of living is far below that in Hungary. So, the Polish situation... [pauses] the good economic indices which the Suchocka government was able to show, but which at the level of economics is not better than ours, were not felt in the lives of individual Polish citizens; because, for the time being, they are left with the difficulties.

The other thing is that in the Polish transformation—and this must not be forgotten either—in Poland, Solidarity started out explicitly as a mass movement of employees, and in the overthrow of the former system in Poland the leading role was played by shipyard workers, miners, between a narrow intellectual group. So, the overthrow of the previous regime was represented by a mass to which the new regime could not offer anything in any case. Of necessity, the representatives of Polish heavy industry, the Polish mining industry, thought that if they overthrow it then something completely different would follow. Besides, in Poland this left wing was always extremely sharply defined, a strong left wing even between the two wars. It was no accident that the social democrats played a leading role in the Polish government in London. So, in Poland there was a trade union movement with a serious peasant and worker background. On the other side, however, the role of the church in politics is much more polarized. And then there is the overwhelming majority of Polish Catholicism. This causes tension in a certain field. So, Poland—perhaps I am not immodest if I say that I am fairly well acquainted with Polish conditions, with the responses of the Polish soul, with the Polish mentality—so the Polish situation is not identical economically, socially, in mentality, or in any other respect, with the Hungrian one, in spite of the fact that our cooperation has a very friendly and historical atmosphere. So, the Polish example in itself is not a model, but it does draw attention to phenomena from which we have to draw the appropriate conclusions. Now, Western commentaries and pronouncements are also built on this.

What we do have in common, however, is that in Poland and in Hungary the successor parties of the former state party have much better conditions financially and in their organization than the former opposition parties. So, the structure has been inherited in exactly the same way, they have salvaged the power structure upon which, in this kind of situation, they have been able to build, and we also have to watch this.

I would add another thing, as a point of difference. That after 1956 in Hungary there remained no parties even in the formal sense either. Only they forgot to abolish the parties, because Kadar and his people did not consider the parties to be sufficiently important to pass a decision saying there is no longer any Smallholders' Party. But from 1956, parties did not function in the People's Front in Hungary, even formally. The Polish or Czechoslovak organizations which were the equivalent of the People's Front were associations of parties, so-called bloc parties, formal parties. So, in Poland, apart from the Workers' Party, the Communist Party, a Peasant Party also functioned. Its successor exists today as well. Then there was a Democratic Party. So, in fact, these former political parties, which won through and were amalgamated into a people's front, have always functioned, right up to the present time. Moreover, Mazowiecki was a deputy in the past decades. So, they had the Catholic Party, etc. The Polish parliament was different. And there these three parties lived like that. In Hungary, thanks to Kadar and his people, in a period of retortions, they started out from scratch in this regard as well; they did not tolerate even formally the former political parties as puppet parties. [passage omitted]

Jeszenszky Interviewed on State Treaties

LD2509211193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by correspondent Gyorgy Mika; from the "168 Hours" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Mika] The Romanian-Slovak basic treaty has been signed. It includes a passage which says that the two countries will coordinate their nationality policy. Another report yesterday from Bratislava states that at the proposal of the Meciar government the Slovak parliament changed the law on name usage in a way which is disadvantageous for nationalities.

[Jeszenszky] Well, these things signal that a kind of [Little] Entente is indeed being formed. This, I think, is not in line with the new Europe because Europe wants a continent without borders, where the peoples and governments follow a more or less uniform philosophy. Therefore, I sense a kind of anachronism in that the two countries want some kind of coordinated policy against a neighbor, or perhaps against minorities living on their own territory—minorities which truly do not threaten them. [passage omitted]

[Mika] Romania's admission to the Council of Europe will be on the [Council's] agenda next week. Hungary's position on Slovakia's admission is known. Although a country's nationality policy may be questioned, still it is better to admit the country because after admission it can be influenced, can be supervised. In Slovakia's case exactly the opposite happened in that it took a step backwards precisely after admission. What then can be expected in Romania's case?

[Jeszenszky] I dare say that Meciar is not a good ally to Romania because these steps are not promising—for this principle of admitting, giving the benefit of doubt has not proved to be very successful. Of course, this principle may be continued, but then the responsibility stemming from it must be accepted. As a matter of fact, the Council of Europe has undertaken a kind of moral political responsibility for the future of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and I think that the situation is the same in Romania because the whole world, that is, those who follow these events know very well that the situation of Hungarian minorities in Romania is still to be solved.

[Mika] Is the Hungarian Government aiming at concluding the basic treaty with Romania, with Slovakia in the near future?

[Jeszenszky] I do not wish to hand this over to somebody else. To some extent it was me who has started this, so I believe that it is I who must continue it. [passage omitted]

Speaking about treaties, I can say that treaties may be signed but they are not compulsory. In interstate relations a treaty, or system of treaties may be a kind of plus, or it replaces the old communist so-called friendship treaties whose language as well as content and philosophy are completely unacceptable and obsolete. Signing treaties is a new vogue which, like any fashion, may be followed but not compulsory and has no fundamental significance. Neither the Romanian-Hungarian, nor the Slovak-Hungarian relationship is really determined by what a treaty contains but by what these countries' general domestic and foreign policy is going to be, not only regarding Hungary but toward others too. For Hungary it is also very important what their minority policy will be and this is, in effect, independent of the treaty.

[Mika] Is it not a question of a trade deal, a particular deal? Because during your Romanian visit the two things to be traded—the Hungarian minorities' situation on the one hand, and the recognition of the permanency of borders on the other, and the same is the case in respect of Slovakia—have been raised very many times?

[Jeszenszky] There is no question of a deal. Perhaps I could say: Regretfully there is no question of a deal, or, fortunately there is no question of a deal, because there are not two unsolved questions here. There is a peace treaty—we know that it is not exactly the most just peace treaty but there is a solution to these far from best borders—European integration. [passage omitted]

Budget Deficit Reaches 147.3 Billion Forints

LD2409131893 Budapest MTI in English 1257 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—In August, Hungary's central budget deficit increased by HUF [Hungarian forint] 9.2 billion to reach HUF 147.3 billion, following an HUF 18.7 billion increase in July.

Lower than expected revenues from privatization continued to be the major cause of the deficit, the finance ministry told MTI today.

At the end of August, revenue stood at huf 547.7 billion and expenditure at huf 695 billion.

Debt-related revenues and expenditures saw a net expenditure of huf 58.5 billion, with expenditure of huf 98.6 billion and revenue of HUF 40.1 billion.

Interest payments totalled huf 86.5 billion, with the largest item going to the National Bank of Hungary, while HUF 4.7 billion was paid as interest and commission fees on government bonds, and a further HUF 19.2 billion on treasury bills.

Payments under state guarantees assumed in previous years made up huf 6.5 billion.

The bulk of revenue came from the HUF 40.1 billion income from withholding tax on the interest accrued on personal savings and securities.

Coalition Maneuvering Viewed by Daily

WS2709113293 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Sep 93 p 1

[Report by D.P.: "What Kind of Coalition, What Kind of Government; Talks Continue"]

[Text] *The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] will be in the opposition if the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] does not agree to form a government with it, according to SLD Chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski. Meanwhile, PSL is cooperating more and more closely with the Union of Labor [UP]. UP would like to get the Democratic Union [UD] involved in the talks.*

SLD will await an answer to a letter sent to the PSL and UP by Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz on Saturday [25 September] regarding their joining a government coalition. SLD will wait until Monday afternoon for an answer. Also on Saturday, UP Chairman Ryszard Bugaj sent a letter to PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak, in which he suggested that the two parties take joint measures to create a government. He also suggested beginning talks (from the initiating party's position) with SLD and UD. PSL, which is getting anxious over "statements by some SLD leaders regarding PSL's role in creating a government coalition," took a positive attitude toward the UP initiative.

During a Saturday night news conference, PSL leader Waldemar Pawlak said that his party is troubled over statements by "some of SLD leaders regarding PSL's role in creating a government coalition." According to unofficial sources, the reason for such a sudden response by Pawlak was a statement by Aleksander Kwasniewski on Friday regarding a preliminary acceptance by PSL of the idea of forming a joint government. Pawlak said PSL is not withdrawing from the secluded talks with SLD experts, while at the same time PSL has accepted the UP offer.

Aleksander Kwasniewski announced Sunday that if a coalition with PSL is not created, SLD will not be interested in forming a minority government, and will remain in the opposition. If PSL's answer is "yes," both parties will undertake formation of a government while trying to convince UP to join forces with them. UP participation, however, will not be a condition for the government's creation.

If the possible partners need some more time, SLD will address the president regarding an extension of the period for presenting candidates for the post of prime minister. In such a case, a few days is the most that would be requested.

Peasant Party, Union of Labor Join Forces

LD2709090193 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 27 Sep 93

[Text] The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Union of Labor [UP] have formed a joint group which is expected to help them conduct negotiations with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] on an equal footing.

Information about the creation of such a group was confirmed in a short statement for ZYCIE WARSZAWY by one of the UP leaders, Aleksander Malachowski. A similar declaration was made by Aleksander Luczak of the PSL.

In the view of these two politicians, the group is based on the similarities in the programs of the two parties.

Kwasniewski Comments on Meeting With PSL

LD2509201693 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, head of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, by correspondent Jaroslaw Gugala in Warsaw; from the "Wiadomosci" program; relayed by Polonia TV—live]

[Text] [Gugala] The guest of the "Wiadomosci" program is Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski, one of the leaders of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and head of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic.

[Kwasniewski] Good evening.

[Gugala] What does this evening's Polish Peasant Party [PSL] statement mean? Does it mean that there is some sort of misunderstanding between the PSL and the SLD?

[Kwasniewski] I do not know. I think that everything will become clear in the next few days. The matter, in my view, is fairly clear. We had—as soon as the results were announced and it turned out that the SLD had won these elections—we had proposed to hold talks with the parties that we consider to be close to us from the program point of view, i.e. the PSL, the Union of Labor [UP]. We also wanted to do the same with the Democratic Union [UD].

This proposal was made. It was announced officially. We proposed the joint formation of a government, and we are awaiting an answer. I hope it is a clearer one than that contained in the PSL statement. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, leader of the SLD election committee, has written both to Mr. Ryszard Bugaj [UP leader] and to Waldemar Pawlak [PSL leader] with the request that they should clearly present their stands by Monday afternoon [27 September], since we believe that the Polish electorate, the Polish people, deserve to have matters clearly stated. We are probably all tired of hints and half-spoken thoughts that can be interpreted in a variety of ways.

[Gugala] If you should be forming a joint government with the PSL and UP, who will be the prime minister? Yesterday, the guest of the "Wiadomosci" program, Mr. Jozef Oleksy—your colleague from the SLD—said that you would certainly be the SLD candidate for the post of prime minister.

[Kwasniewski] Jozef Oleksy is a wonderful friend, and I thank him for his kind words. These matters are too

serious to be discussed in this way, however. We believe that Poland needs a stable government, and we are ready to subjugate everything to this stable government—even personnel matters.

[Gugala] Are you, therefore, also ready to agree to Waldemar Pawlak being the prime minister of such a government?

[Kwasniewski] Well, you know, this has to be talked over. This is not a matter that can be decided in a television studio. Talks must be held. We are ready for such talks. We have undertaken such talks, and I think that we shall be continuing them.

The government definitely must be stable. The government definitely should have enough time to work, to solve problems—of which there are many in Poland. We believe that if one holds hard to the rule of competence—and I stress competence, the right people in the right posts—then there is a chance of success. We are interested in just such a government, one that would have a chance of success.

[Gugala] Just after the elections, a lot of journalists surrounded you, and you were all asked about various matters. All sorts of contradictory signals were received from your group. Someone said once that you would be recalling the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]. Then someone said you wanted to restrict the jurisdiction of the president. Later someone else tried to deny this, and so on. Does this mean that these matters have not yet been decided upon, or that there are misunderstandings between you?

[Kwasniewski] Well, I think that, most of all, this means that journalists—whom I value very highly—are mostly seeking just such nuances, that sort of tasty story. The matter is quite simple, and there is no point in philosophizing. We said during the election campaign that the reforms must serve the people, and we adhere to this stand. So we say clearly that what has been achieved in Poland—the good, the positive and that which serves the people—should be continued. That which needs to be changed must be changed wisely, must be reformed and brought to such a stage where people feel there is some progress, that there is something concrete for them.

In this sense, all that we are saying follows this way of thinking. There is no talk of the Polish National Bank today; nor are we talking about the NIK, because these are not the subjects of our talks. The subjects are the formation of a Sejm and the formation of a government.

We speak just as clearly on the subject of the president. We respect the prerogatives of the president. We honor the rights of the president. The elections are to take place in 1995, and we believe that this is sensible.

If we do not want to see such scenarios repeated as those in Moscow—on which you will be commenting in a moment—then I think that one must bring some order to everything that is happening in Poland—some logic, some order, and some responsibility. Especially responsibility on the part of politicians, since I notice that there are far too many games of all sorts here and attempts to play off one person against another. This is the wrong way of doing things.

[Gugala] When will you answer the president's letter. When will you put forward your candidate for prime minister?

[Kwasniewski] We want to do it—and I said so in my letter to the president—after the session of the National Electoral Committee on Monday [27 September]. Whether this will be possible depends to a large extent on our partners. We won these elections, but we do not have an absolute majority. So we must have our partners' answer if this government is to be a stable government. If we get an answer, then it could be Monday. If it turns out that the PSL or the UP need more time, then we will be asking the president to be patient for a little while longer before we answer his letter.

[Gugala] I understand that the question of whether there will be three candidates for the post of prime minister or one will also be decided during these talks?

[Kwasniewski] Yes, indeed. It is all a matter, as I have already said, that it should be realistic. Games are not our aim. Our aim is clarity before the electorate, before those who are watching us at the moment. And, as I have already said, the aim is formation of a stable government. Everything comes second to this, and we have not insisted on anything. I stress this. We have not insisted on anything or anyone.

[Gugala] Thank you for talking to us.

[Kwasniewski] Thank you.

Kwasniewski: Walesa To Have Say in Appointments

LD2409203093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Relayed by Polonia television network]

[Text] Leaders of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] gave assurances at a meeting with the diplomatic corps that the SLD will continue the present policy of the ministries of foreign affairs, internal affairs, and national defense.

[Correspondent Wojciech Nomejko] Representatives of over 50 states accredited in Poland came to the meeting in the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] headquarters. The SLD leaders presented their program which aims at forming a stable government, strong and efficient market economy, and efficient social policy. These aims are similar to those of previous governments, the difference being the way in which it is going to be achieved, said Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz.

The leaders of the Left talked about President Lech Walesa with great respect. They gave assurances that the president will have, in accordance with the Constitution, a say in filling the posts of ministers of foreign affairs, internal affairs, and national defense.

Aleksander Kwasniewski told diplomats that the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has preliminarily accepted a proposal to form the government, as shown by the fact that economic experts were holding consultations. [video shows cars with diplomatic plates; SLD building; SLD leaders greeting people coming in; Kwasniewski and others sitting behind long table]

Walesa Wants SLD Candidates for Prime Minister

LD2409163393 Warsaw PAP in English 1200 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—President Lech Walesa is awaiting the proposal of three candidates for prime minister from the victorious Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) since the official election results have now been announced, according to Friday's [24 September] information from the presidential press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski.

"This is a continuation of that which the president did after the elections in 1991, turning to the Democratic Union (UD) which at that time had won the biggest number of votes, to propose three candidates for that post," Drzycimski added.

SLD spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski said on Friday that Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz is due to send a letter containing details of the SLD candidacy to President Walesa on Monday following the meeting of the national election committee of the SLD.

Drzycimski stressed that, "the president is maintaining his preelection statement that the winning party or coalition has the right to designate the premier, but that he would like to see three candidates, from whom he would choose one."

Drzycimski recalled that after the 1991 elections the UD as the winning party proposed three candidates for the prime ministership from whom Walesa chose Bronislaw Geremek.

Drzycimski added that following the letter from SLD leader Aleksander kwasniewski to President Walesa on Friday, "One must expect that the alliance will reply to the president after its meetings on September 26 and 27."

SLD Expert Believes Budget Changes 'Unlikely'

LD2409205293 Warsaw PAP in English 1903 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—The Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) believes that changes in this year's budget are unlikely, SLD's economic expert Marek Borowski said on Friday [24 September] adding that the 1994 budget proposal made by the Suchocka government should serve as a starting point for the budgetary debate.

Borowski described privatization contracts signed so far as "unquestionable" although the SLD is going to take a look at the existing privatization contracts.

Borowski went on to say that the question whether the next year's budget deficit ought to be 4.5, 5, or 6 percent should not be regarded as a dogma. It should follow out of the priorities, such as, inflation control and control of money influx, as well as social spendings on education and investment reliefs.

He said that the SLD is against freezing tax ceilings because such a system hits at "the lowest income families". Instead, the Democratic Left Alliance supports the concept of their valorization of tax ceilings corresponding to the inflation rate in the previous year. It also does not rule out a 1-percent tax increase or the introduction of a stabilization tax if this proves to be necessary for the budget.

Privatization should not be "an instrument of social justice but a component of a rational economic policy," he said adding that plants crews should take part in privatization rather than budget sector employees.

Vacaroiu Departs for Moscow, Makes Statement

AU2709082393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 27 Sep 93

[Text] From 27-29 September, a Romanian Government delegation led by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu will pay an official visit to Moscow at the invitation of Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Before departing, the Romanian prime minister made the following statement for our radio station:

[Begin Vacaroiu recording] Beginning today, for three days, that is from 27-29 September, the prime minister and a delegation will pay an official visit to the Russian Federation. Talks will be held with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, there will be a number of meetings with Deputy Prime Minister Volskiy, and, of course, on the second and third days with President Yeltsin.

On the second day, the delegation will pay a visit to the Republic of Bashkortostan; our delegation's main objective is to examine a number of issues that at this point have reached a certain stage in our negotiations: I am referring to questions regarding the basic political treaty, the treasury, and, certainly, numerous other question regarding bilateral relations.

Certainly, the main emphasis will be placed on developing bilateral relations, cooperation, and trade. As you know, Romania has a number of special interests linked to our traditional relations in connection with the exchange of commodities.

On this occasion, we will also sign a number of accords on commodity exchanges and payments for 1993-94, double taxation, an accord in the area of science and technology, and a few other accords depending on how the negotiations go in the two days we are in Moscow.

The main emphasis will, of course, be placed on ensuring the necessary quantities of raw materials and other products that have been agreed on in a protocol for the 1993-94 period. We hope that this visit will be fruitful and that we will be able to relaunch—bearing in mind the potential of the two countries—bilateral relations, especially on cooperation and trade.

Thank you. [end recording]

Iliescu Statement Upon Return From Slovakia

AU2509135393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu at Otopeni Airport, Upon Return to Bucharest from Slovakia on 24 September—recorded]

[Text] Upon return from Slovakia, I would like to make a brief statement and review the visit. The two days had a busy schedule and full programs that included contacts, discussions, dialogues with President Kovac, Prime Minister Meciar, and the president of the parliament Mr. Gasparovic, the address in the parliament, meetings with the representatives of Bratislava Mayor's Office and with representatives of the town of Zvolan. All these contacts as well as the major political event, that is, the signing of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Slovakia, have marked a significant political event, which expresses our mutual political wish and will to develop good relations, based on continuing traditions of good neighborliness and confidence between our countries, in the new framework and under the new conditions in which economic, political, and social life of our countries are developing, thus, the wish to develop bilateral relations in all areas. There are no disputed problems between our countries. On the contrary, there is a common wish and common interest to use all opportunities to develop our relations, including the exchange of experience, because we are going through the same processes and face the same difficulties that are specific to a transition period.

At the same time, we held an exchange of opinion on international problems of joint interest and we emphasized the mutual interest to develop consultations, contacts, and cooperation in international and European bodies and to act as constructive and as positive factor in our geographical are.

We discussed all these issues from a constructive position. The bilateral relations between Romania and Slovakia are not aimed against anybody. On the contrary, we wish to be factors of positive influence and stability in our region, in order to establish relations of good neighborliness with all countries surrounding us, because, ultimately, we are all going through similar processes, all of us face similar difficulties, and we are all interested in promoting processes of general European integration, in political, military, and economic areas, with a view to ensuring stability in Europe and ensuring equal security for all the countries of our continent. We held our dialogue and our discussions in this spirit and this was the basis for understanding and for approaching together the issues of bilateral relations.

Certainly, several concrete steps will follow. The general legal framework that the new treaty represents will take concrete shape in accords, direct understandings between governments, and accords at the level of specialized, governmental or nongovernmental bodies, in the area of economy, culture, education, tourism, and others. However, there is a favorable climate for all this and the entire visit was held in a favorable climate of friendship of warm feelings that, as a matter of fact, characterized relations between our peoples also in the past.

Russian Defense Minister Grachev Postpones Visit

AU2409142593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] In a personal message sent to the Romanian Minister of National Defense, Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, on 23 September 1993, the defense minister of the Russian Federation, Army General Pavel

Grachev informed him that he is no longer able to pay the visit to Bucharest scheduled for 27-29 September 1993.

This cancellation is exclusively due to the current domestic situation in the Russian Federation, which requires General Grachev's presence at home and is in no way determined by bilateral relations between the Romanian Army and the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation.

A new date for the visit will be convened later, on the basis of mutual agreement, reads the communique of the Army Press Bureau.

Press Reaction to Events in Moscow

AU2409115893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0849 GMT 24 Sep 93

[From the press review]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/9/1993—Developments is Russia continue to be given utmost importance by the Romanian press. ADEVARUL writes in its editorial, "a bet almost won": "No doubt that, even if they continue to show resistance, the chances of the conservatives are very low. Resigned, they will probably concentrate on the December polls and count on the dissatisfaction of a population deeply affected by the economic and social chaos. The great battle for winning the voters is ahead."

Under the headline "When Nostalgia Can Be Dangerous," DIMINEATA writes that the "irresponsible attempt of pro-communist forces in Moscow to bar the Russian nation from an evolution towards real democracy proves once again that this ideology and its representatives know one political instrument only, namely force. Under these conditions, the normal position of the institutions of the Russian state—of those on which its stability depends, in the first place, that have declared that they would not interfere in political issues—is that of backing and safeguarding the democratically elected power."

CRONICA ROMANA opines that "as regards the tensions in Moscow, all our political forces, and not only them, have sided with Boris Yeltsin, that is with democracy and reform. It has been a surprise for many that not even those accused to favour restoration have sided with the conservatives in Moscow, as some could have expected. Not even those called anti-reformers here are against Yeltsin's reforms. ... The ruling party and the opposition, the unions and the president are in the same boat, unexpectedly but hopefully."

COTIDIANUL writes in a comment titled "The Situation in Moscow Could Turn Dangerous" that Boris Yeltsin has become "the symbol of salvaging democracy not only in Russia, but in the whole Eastern Europe. His failure may be extremely dangerous."

The Russian Army "has not sided with one party or the other after the decree revoking parliament," writes AZI in an article titled "The Army Remains the Great Arbiter."

Commentary Urges Snegur To Favor Bucharest Over Moscow

AU2309170493 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 16 Sep 93 p 2

[Commentary by Apostol Stan: "The Leaders in Chisinau Are Vacillating Between Bucharest and Moscow"]

[Text] The area of the former Soviet empire is going through harsh crises in the economy, political structures, and inter-ethnic conflicts, which, for the time being, make it unable to be restructured and rapidly adjust to the new form of democratic society and political organization based on independent states. The redefinition of this area as such is hampered by the Russian Army remaining in all the former union republics. By stimulating inter-ethnic conflicts, the same Army of occupation is attempting to prevent the emancipation of the former subject nations, without the UN condemning Russia's direct and brutal interference in the domestic affairs of its former colonies. Being unable to get organized in a political and institutional sense owing to numerous domestic conflicts, the states in the former Soviet area are being subject to a harsh economic crisis. Consequently, two years after the proclamation of independence, the Turkish republics in Central Asia, Georgia, Belarus, and even Ukraine are repentantly returning to the Russian ruble—which some of them had rejected—by giving up their own currencies, one of the attributes of an independent state.

The serious situation in the Republic of Moldova is not only due to the secessionists in Transdniester and the Gagauz region, but also due to the stance of the current leaders in Chisinau—Messrs. Snegur, Sangheli, and Lucinschi. At a time when there are tremendous opportunities to revive that bit of Romanian spirit across the Prut River, they do not know where to turn. For them, Moscow still has the attraction of a magnet. And not only in order to obtain the withdrawal of the Russian Army from Transdniester, where its commander, General Lebed, has been elected a deputy in Tiraspol! They still harbor the same hope that, after so many decades of misfortune, some good may come out of Moscow. Consequently, although Mr. Snegur has mentioned on countless occasions the need for reunification with Romania at various levels, particularly the economic one, he still hesitates to issue a national currency, and thus tries to preserve the link with Russia through maintaining the ruble. In this sense, after he signed the Almaty Treaty on association with the CIS, he attracted opposition from the Parliament in Chisinau, which refused to let Moldova obey Moscow. But, instead of supporting that vote, the leaders in Chisinau are persevering with the same policy, in the hope that, through the election of a

different legislative body, the legitimacy of their move toward the CIS may be obtained.

What is surprising in the conduct of the Chisinau government is the continuation of an economic policy that is no longer justified. The recent decision by the authorities in Bucharest, namely to provide various kinds of aid, would permit them to rid themselves of Moscow's economic pressure. A number of raw materials and fuels under the recent accords concluded between Bucharest and Chisinau could thwart Moscow's blackmail, to which we have to add that coming from Kiev. Bucharest's offer to help the Republic of Moldova, although somewhat delayed, has spoilt Snegur's plans, who thus lacks the major justification in his policy of leaning toward Moscow. For this purpose—according to some information—the raw materials delivered by Bucharest are not welcomed by those political forces across the Prut River who—by means of economic bridges, which they want to be as modest as possible—are trying to preserve the division of the Romanian nation.

In pursuit of new points of contact with the Soviet space, a decision by the Presidium of the Parliament in Chisinau legalizes the political activity of the communists—a party that became one with the totalitarian Bolshevik state. This decision permits political activity to be carried out in a social environment that has not broken with former mentalities and that is in a state of confusion. One tends to forget that, in the name of the ideals of the Soviet state, the Communist Party of Moldova carried out colonialization, deportations, and crimes to "purify" Bessarabia and alienate it from the Romanian nation. The same communists, by regaining their political rights, have changed the demographic structure of the Republic of Moldova to a great extent, thereby leading to inter-ethnic conflicts and the Romanophobia of today with their policy.

Given the hesitations and unconvincing actions by the government in Chisinau, the Republic of Moldova will only survive, from an economic point of view, if it leans toward Romania. For, since it does not possess any unifying factor in the former Soviet zone, Russia does not view the CIS as an economic community of independent states—like the Common Market—but as a covert instrument of political absorption and of restoring an empire that, for the time being, has not found any ideological link apart from Russian nationalism.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 27 September

WA2709170193

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Muslim organizations hold congress prior to opening of Bosnian Assembly session ... Bosnian Presidency member Abdic declares autonomous province in western Bosnia ... Tensions increase between Croatian Government, local authorities in Istria ... Macedonian membership in CSCE rejected ... Izetbegovic denies Muslims planning attack on Croatian forces in Sarajevo ... Bosnian Croats in Vitez threaten to blow up explosives factory ... UNPROFOR spokesman accuses Bosnian Croats of using Muslims near Kiseljak for forced labor.

POLITICAL

MUSLIMS HOLD CONGRESS (Sarajevo Radio): On eve of opening of Bosnian Assembly vote on peace proposal, representatives of Muslim organizations—including members of governing party, Bosnian Army, Interior Ministry, Islamic clergy—hold Congress of Muslim Bosnian Organizations to discuss proposal, "constitutional framework" for establishment of Muslim state. (AU2709114193)

ABDIC PROCLAIMS AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE (Zagreb Radio): Bosnian Presidency member Abdic declares autonomy for western Bosnia because of "disagreement" of region's Muslims with "unitarist policy" of Bosnian President Izetbegovic, accuses Izetbegovic and his supporters of turning Bosnia into "island of fear, misery, and darkest Stalinism." (LD2609194193, LD2409172593)

TUDJMAN DENOUNCES ISTRIAN AUTHORITIES (Zagreb Radio): Croatian President Tudjman denounces Istrian authorities for accusing Croatian Government of exploiting peninsula, says charges are "detrimental to the interests of the citizens of Istria, of Croatia, and to the interests of democracy." (LD2509172993)

DIPLOMATIC

MACEDONIAN CSCE MEMBERSHIP REJECTED (MILS-NEWS): Greece, Cyprus veto Macedonian application for membership in CSCE because of continuing dispute over Macedonian name. Albania also rejected Macedonian membership. (AU2409180793)

MILITARY

IZETBEGOVIC DENIES PLAN TO ATTACK CROATS (AFP): Bosnian President Izetbegovic denies claim by local Croatian commander Zelic that Bosnian Army planning "to eliminate" Bosnian Croat forces in Sarajevo. Muslim Bosnian Army officer claims "majority" of Croatian forces "want to fight within the ranks of the Bosnian Army" but are prevented from doing so by Zelic. (AU2509190393)

CROATS THREATEN EXPLOSION IN VITEZ (Zagreb TV): Bosnian Croat forces threaten to ignite hundreds of tons of "nitroglycerine" and "nitric and sulphuric acids" in Vitez explosives factory if Muslim attacks continue, claim even Travnik and Zenica would

HUMANITARIAN

UNPROFOR CHARGES CROATS WITH VIOLATIONS (AFP): UN official says Croats "rounded up a significant number" of Muslims from villages near Kiseljak, using the men as "forced labor" and locking up women and children in a "virtual concentration camp."

Organizations To Discuss Forming Muslim State

AU2609142293 Paris AFP in English 1227 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 26 (AFP)—Representatives of Moslem organisations will meet here Monday to discuss the Geneva peace plan and lay the ground for the Moslem state which could emerge out of the partition of Bosnia, it was announced here Sunday.

A Congress of Moslem Bosnian Organisations—to include representatives of the ruling Party of Democratic Action (SDA), of the Army, Interior Ministry, Islamic clergy and Moslem cultural and humanitarian organisations—will meet a day ahead of parliament to discuss peace terms with the warring Bosnian Serbs and Croats, Congress organiser Alija Isakovic said.

The congress was expected to be attended by President Alija Izetbegovic, a member of the SDA, who would brief on the peace deal to be considered by parliament, Isakovic said.

The congress would also vote on the peace deal and while this "will not prejudice Tuesday's parliamentary decision, we expect that parliament will take account of the political will of the Moslem nation," according to Edah Becirbegovic, representating the Moslem Merhamet organisation.

The congress, the spokesmen claimed, was in many ways more representative of the Moslem nation than the parliament elected before the war, most of whose Serb and Croat representatives no longer attended.

The congress would also consider the constitutional framework for a future Moslem state because, if the Geneva peace package were accepted, the "Moslem nation will then be forced to have its own republic" under the terms of partition, according to Sead Hodzic, a member of the Bosnian constitutional court.

The Geneva peace plan envisages the creation of three separate republics, based on ethnic lines, within a loose Bosnian federation.

"Now that multi-national Bosnia has been destroyed (...) the Moslem state must create its own political and constitutional framework in the same way as the Bosnian Serbs and Croats have done," in the territories they control, Isakovic said.

Krajisnik Doubts Assembly To Adopt Peace Plan

AU2609161293 Paris AFP in English 1551 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 26 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Momcilo Krajisnik said in a radio interview Sunday [26 September] that he doubts the Moslem-dominated Bosnian parliament will adopt the latest peace proposals to end the Bosnian conflict.

"My impression is that the Moslems will not accept the plan," Krajisnik said explaining that the Moslems were under no pressure to adopt the plan at Tuesday's parliamentary gathering.

He said the international community was "passive" in reacting to the latest proposals to carve the republic into three ethnic mini-states and was "even inciting" the Moslems to impose new demands.

The latest peace proposals emerged from a meeting held by Bosnia's three warring parties aboard a British warship in the Adriatic.

"I am convinced the Moslems will repeatedly make new demands because they think we will eventually give up and the international community will always look favorably upon them," Krajisnik said.

He warned that Bosnian Serb leaders may withdraw some of the concessions they made in the latest peace proposals if the Moslems refuse to approve them.

Rejects Sea Access Deal

AU2409160993 Paris AFP in English 1557 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 24 (AFP)—Croatia will give the Bosnian Serbs access to the Adriatic Sea on condition that it be recognised within the borders it had when still a part of former Yugoslavia, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES reported Friday [24 September].

The paper, quoting the leader of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament, Momcilo Krajisnik, said Croatia wanted Serbia and Montenegro—which form the rump Yugoslavia, to admit that the Croatian region of Krajina, currently controlled by separatist Serbs, was part of Croatia.

Krajisnik said the Croatians had "in the framework of normalising relations between the federal republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia, demanded that Croatia be recognised within the administrative borders which existed in former Yugoslavia" and stressed that this implied a "renouncement" by Yugoslavia on any part of Krajina.

Krajisnik said this condition was "unacceptable" to the Bosnian Serbs who would continue to insist on their "natural right to have sea access."

He said he would defend this stance at a meeting his parliament will hold next week.

Krajina is under UN Protection Force safeguard, but the latter's mandate expires on September 30. The Croatians say UNPROFOR has been inefficient and this week asked for it to be withdrawn or have its mandate strengthened.

Shannon Boyd, an UNPROFOR spokeswoman, said the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate was the business

of the UN Security Council only and could not be the subject of a bilateral dialogue between New York and Zagreb.

Discusses Concessions

LD2609154593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] Kragujevac, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the assembly of the republic of Srpska, said today that current developments in Russia and confrontations which are nearing their culmination, and the possibility of civil war breaking out, may exert negative influence on the further course of peace talks on former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the entire Serbian people.

Participating in Kragujevac Radio's "Imprint of Time" program, he said he wants this country [as received] to reach national reconciliation and realize that Russia must assume a significant role in the world, including in this context events in former Bosnia-Herzegovina too.

Asked whether peace is nearer following the meeting aboard the British ship and an earlier declaration signed by the Serbian and Muslim sides in Geneva, Krajisnik gave a negative reply.

"It is my impression that the Muslim assembly, scheduled for Tuesday, will not acept this plan. The reason behind this impression is the fact that they are under no pressure and that the international community is in fact passive—it is even encouraging them to raise new demands. This is why they are now setting major conditions, particularly in the western part of Bosnian Krajina and eastern Bosnia. They cannot get 33.3 percent of the territory in Bosnia. I believe they will be constantly coming up with new demands as they believe that we shall give in and that the international community will remain passive and sympathetic."

Announcing the next session of the Serbian parliament scheduled for next week, Krajisnik made it clear that the Serbs are not going to give any concessions any more and stressed that they will revoke even those they have given to the Muslims so far.

Western Bosnia Declares Autonomous Area

LD2609194193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Excerpts] The main committee for the foundation of the constituent unit of western Bosnia and Fikret Abdic, the committee chairman and a member of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, have sent a letter to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, and to the world public. We are broadcasting the full text of the letter:

In the historic moments for Bosnia-Herzegovina, when the day of the final decision on the division of our country into the Serb, Croat, and Muslim states is getting nearer, the people of western Bosnia have of their own free will and with full responsibility decided to create a separate constituent unit within the union of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such a democratic decision has been caused primarily by the disagreement of the citizens of western Bosnia with a unitarist policy of Alija Izetbegovic and the central authorities in Sarajevo. We also do not want to bear the burden of historic failures for conducting our country's internal and foreign policy, which has since the beginning of the war presented Bosnia-Herzegovina to the domestic public and international community solely as the victim of the aggression, and not as an equitable party in the peace negotiations and a UN member with full rights. The result of such a policy is the misconception among the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina that a military intervention by the United States or NATO is sure to come and is only a question of the right moment. Refusing to take part in such political failures and cardinal mistakes, of which we have warned at the appropriate time, the people of Krajina and representatives of the local and regional authorities, including the undisputed moral and political leader of the western Krajina, Fikret Abdic, have opted for creation of our own future.

The basic principles of our decision are the people's right to self-determination, territorial autonomy, and state and territorial links with the future union of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In only 48 hours after the launching of the initiative for the creation of the constituent unit of western Bosnia, this democratic platform of the people of Krajina was signed by one quarter of the electoral body of Velika Kladusa, Bihac, Cazin and Bosanska Krupa. By 26 September the autonomy was supported by the majority of voters of all national, social, cultural and age groups. [passage omitted]

We expect the European Parliament and the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights to resolutely oppose the methods of autocratic rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the policy of military dictatorship over the citizens and free-thinking members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from this area. We would like to inform you that the military maneuvers which began on 17 September do not have a military but primarily political character, and are not of local but regional significance. The continuation of the military operations in western Bosnia is threatening to cause confrontations which would unavoidably have impact in the UN protected areas in the Republic of Croatia, and the peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia could be set back to the level at which no generally acceptable and just solution could be envisaged for a long time. [passage omitted]

Abdic Appeals for Autonomy

LD2409172593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Excerpt] Fikret Abdic has issued a proclamation, addressing the people of the Cazinska Krajina.

Among other things he stresses: Refusal to accept the initiative to form an autonomous province of western Bosnia can mean only one thing: the [Cazin] Krajina will be made to suit [Bosnian President] Izetbegovic, [Bosnian Foreign Minister] Ganic, [Bosnian Army 5th Corps Commander] Drekovic, and the like, which means life without bread, in blood and in isolation; an island of fear, misery, and darkest Stalinism. Do not allow tyrants, who do not come from Krajina or Bosnia, foreign citizens, and extremists to decide on your destiny and choose death for you instead of life and prosperity.

The empty phrase and the layman's accusation that the creation of western Bosnia would break up Bosnia-Herzegovina is untrue. The creation of the province would mean a modern organization of the area, within the constitutional and legal system of the union of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, providing for a secure and better future for its people.

This is Fikret Abdic's message in his proclamation to the people of Cazinska Krajina on the initiative to create the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

He stresses that it is very important to warn all people about big manipulations and shady deals aimed at preventing them from expressing their will and at misrepresenting their interests.

You are facing that important, crucial moment right now, Abdic says, emphasizing that Ramiz Drekovic, commander of the 5th Corps, and other members of the Army have been ordered to break the initiative.

We are not breaking up Bosnia-Herzegovina, although we are being accused of this by those—Izetbegovic, Ganic, Mahmutcehajic—who have been breaking it up so persistently from the very beginning. [Bosnian Serb leader] Karadzic, [Bosnian Croat leader] Boban, and Izetbegovic have agreed on three constituent units. Such an agreement and organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina completely cuts off Bihac province—which is 200 km away or 400 km from the very center—from the central Bosnian republic.

Such specific conditions have not been created by Fikret Abdic, as I have been shamelessly accused. The three republic are our reality. We have to accept it, as well as the fact that we have specific problems in relation to the central Bosnian republic, due to the physical distance from it. One of them is the problem of our corridor.

Abdic stresses that the witch-hunt against him and against the initiative reminds one of the Agrokomerc affair of 1987, when the terminological expression of counterevolution was also used. Now the terms separatism and secessionism are being used in order to frighten people. This is exactly what is wanted by Izetbegovic, Ganic, Mahmutcehajic, [Bosnian Army Chief of General Staff] Rasim Delic, Ramiz Drekovic, and his servants in the 5th Corps, who would find a military dictatorship suitable.

It is clear that the 5th Corps is given such orders by Izetbegovic, Ganic, and Mahmutcehajic, whose policy has pushed their people into an even deeper and greater abyss. Drekovic has not been appointed to organize the defense of the region, but to check and appoint people according to Muslim criteria, to administer justice according to desires of some individuals, and to categorize people according to the principle: those who are for Abdic are enemies, those against him are good. This is nothing but a dark Stalinist, bolshevik method, used by the very people who swore by humanism and democracy before the first multiparty elections, and who deceived people when they said that witch hunts and persecutions would never happen again. Now they are delivering political lectures in the style of a military junta and of political extremists.

Abdic reveals that a court case has been initiated against 317 people in Velika Kladusa. The whole of Kladusa is being called Kradusa [place of theft], military and political force is being demonstrated.

Headhunters and organizers of witch hunts, lead by Zgonjanin and Ubiparip, and their servants from Kladusa, such as Major Omer Djogo, have held marathon meetings on how to break our region and its people.

Not relinquishing our democratic rights and our freedom is the guarantee of our future and I hope that my message will give you encouragement, Abdic says to his fellow people of Krajina. Ramiz Drekovic and his extremist puppets from the top leadership of the 5th Corps, cannot hear me—and it is they that I am addressing. They are committing a shameful aggression against their people and treating their democratic initiative in a military junta manner. Those Stalinists and bolsheviks, who have not come up with a single piece of evidence to substantiate their accusations that we are breaking up Bosnia-Herzegovina, have gathered their forces. They are the extremists from the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] who, sooner or later, will all be tried for multiple acts of homicide of the Muslim people. Those who are demonstrating extremism at municipal assembly meetings, in fact displaying their powerlessness and decay, will in future be known as traitors.

In his proclamation to the people of the Cazinska Krajina, Fikret Abdic tells the citizens, soldiers, and commanders that if they give in now there will be no second chance for the creation of western Bosnia, but instead only for the creation of an international committee providing aid to its surviving inhabitants. The putchists from the 5th Corps and SDA ranks will be excommunicated by the Krajina people, for the people will not put up, for the third time, with a noose around their necks. Everything we have achieved so far, and everything we are planning, will be a guarantee of a secure and prosperous life for our western Bosnia. Our proposal is that this region be a duty-free zone, with the use of the free zone of the Rijeka port. That is a solid foundation for future life, particularly for young people. The refusal of the initiative can mean only one thing: Krajina will be

made to suit Izetbegovic, Ganic, Drekovic, and the like, which means being without bread or life, an island of fear, misery, and darkest Stalinism. Be brave, for not all of you can be arrested and imprisoned, Abdic says on behalf of 308,000 members of the initiative committee.

I am neither a counterrevolutionary nor a secessionist, nor a separatist, nor one who wants the break-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am not a chetnik, ustasha, or traitor. I am simply Fikret Abdic, a fighter for justice, peace, and democracy, and a visionary who has never betrayed your interest. By accepting the initiative to create the autonomous province of western Bosnia we would for the first time be an equitable partner in all negotiations on the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Others would point at us and say: This is western Bosnia; they overcame the war and the crisis. They did not consent to living in chaos, dictatorship, and lawlessness.

In conclusion, Abdic recalls the great promises made before the war by those who, after having shamefully fled Krajina for Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, are now trying to replace peace and democracy, for which we are fighting so hard, with war and lasting chaos. [passage omitted]

Writes Owen, Stoltenberg

LD2509172893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Fikret Abdic, leader of the Cazin Krajina, has sent a letter to Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia. The letter reads:

Esteemed gentlemen: Convinced that you have already had the opportunity to learn about the meaning of the latest initiative regarding the establishment of the western Bosnia constituent unit, I believe it useful to reveal certain details in this connection. The point of departure is the Geneva peace plan, which envisages a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into constituent units.

In the light of the territorial, demographic, political, economic, military, and other characteristics of the Bihac, Cazin, Velika Kladusa, and Bosanska Krupa municipalities—which constitute the nucleus of this province—we have come to the conclusion that there are realistic conditions for establishing a separate administrative unit within the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina republics. We also maintain that it is possible here to bring this into being more quickly and more effectively than in any other part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The region's realistic conditions rest in the fact that the region of western Bosnia has been operating as a separate entity since the beginning of the war. For as long as 17 months, all communications have broken down, as have political, military, and economic contacts with the central authorities in the administrative and political seat of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have been forced to organize by ourselves every aspect of everyday life, ranging from defense to providing supplies for the population.

Your personal advisers and UN military observers can best testify to our successes. The activities of the regional and municipal authorities, in successful cooperation with the Army and police of this region, have saved this territory, the population, and good interethnic relations between the Muslims, Croats, and also some parts of the Serbian population that have remained in this area. The essence of Bosnia-Herzegovina has survived here, something that may serve as an incentive for other parts of the country to the effect of introducing an adequate territorial organization as a precondition for peace and renewed cooperation among all the peoples, although this would be limited initially to the economic sphere alone.

Despite the long period of war, the economic, health care, and other vital infrastructure amenities have been saved in this region. All of this, together with the existing work force, can be quickly revived in the context of production and general progress.

Before the war and occupation, Abdic writes in his letter to Owen and Stoltenberg, this area covered a total of 2,150 square kms. At the moment, the civil and military authorities of this region are in control of 1,500 square kms. According to the 1991 census, 245,435 people lived in the municipalities of Bihac, Cazin, Velika Kladusa, and Bosanska Krupa—including 88 percent Muslims, 13 percent Serbs, about 3 percent Croats, while other nationalities and ethnic groups accounted for about 3.5 percent.

In the wake of the war in the wider area of Bosanska Krajina, we have received about 60,000 refugees and displaced people. At present, there are about 308,000 people in the region, including 30 percent of the indigenous Serbian population. They share the same conditions with the other peoples. They have been incorporated into the defense and police; they are working in their companies, municipal administrations, and humanitarian organizations, etc. Those Serbian families who fled the area under our control when the war broke out have recently been seen to be returning home.

The territory of western Bosnia has developed transport and public services. The modern railway line along the Una River connects us with the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina republics and with the countries of Europe and the Balkans. Bihac airport has good prospects for the development of air traffic. Western Bosnia is situated 200 kms from the nearest border with central Bosnia and twice as far from the republican authorities in Sarajevo.

Abdic continues: Our interest is in the foundation of the western Bosnia constituent unit, in which special laws and other autonomous documents will regulate constitutionality and legality, human rights and liberties, market economy, equality of all nations, cultures and religions, etc. Bodies of authorities would be organized according to this principle. Bihac would become the administrative

and political center. We see the future western Bosnia as a duty-free country with a stable economic backing in the major Croatian port of Rijeka, which would function as a duty-free zone.

It is vital to end the war immediately, establish permanent peace, and secure the return of all expelled people or refugees, regardless of their nationality. Is it also necessary to establish correct relations within the area and with the whole of the developed world. It is necessary to organize an internal territorial system according to the needs and wishes of the citizens, ensure the opening of road arteries as a precondition for future economic development, and ensure the freedom of private entrepreneurship, ownership transformation, and a market economy.

We expect more effective measures from the Geneva conference and the cochairmen of the Geneva peace conference on former Yugoslavia—aimed at preventing military activities by the Muslim army's fifth corps, which jeopardizes democratic processes in the region. By continuous use of force, Ramiz Drekovic, chief commander of these military formations, is preventing the activities of the legitimate local and regional bodies of authorities, while civilians are subjected to the cruelest forms of intimidation. You are well aware of the fact that Sarajevo is coordinating all these activities.

In this connection, we expect you to approach Mr. Izetbegovic on the issues of halting the activities which—if continued—could lead to a war within western Bosnia, and to demand that the French UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] battalion, with its headquarters in Velika Kladusa, preserve the humanitarian corridor that has been our sole link with the world until now.

We hope that your understanding and support will bring about the best possible solution in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, quickly and without major clashes, Abdic says at the end of his letter to Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Ousted From SDA

AU2609155193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] The Muslim Sarajevo Radio has reported that the Executive Council of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] for Velika Kladusa has dismissed Fikret Abdic, member of the Muslim Bosnian Presidency, from its membership. It is said in the explanation for this act that Fikret Abdic acted contrary to the program and interests of the party, that his behavior was obstinate, and that the culmination was when he tried to form the autonomous province of western Bosnia. Abdic deems power more important than the interests of the Muslim people, it is said in the announcement of the Party of Democratic Action.

Serb-Muslim Clashes Reportedly Abating

LD2509140593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1324 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Bratunac, September 25 (TANJUG)—Moslem attacks on Serb positions in the war-ravaged former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have abated and are far less frequent, but have not completely stopped, the general staff of the army of the Serb republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (VRS) told TANJUG on Saturday [25 September].

Moslems have launched major attacks near the towns of Doboj and Brcko, northern Bosnia, in the past 24 hours, according to the same source.

Moslems are opening sniper fire on practically all parts of Sarajevo, the same source said.

The VRS general staff said clashes continued between erstwhile allied Moslems and Croats. Those clashes are also of a lower intensity than in the previous days, although Moslems and Croats are continuously fighting in the Neretva river valley.

The Serb side strictly observes the latest cease-fire agreement signed in Geneva on September 16 and rarely uses the right to self-defence, the VRS general staff said in its statement.

Karadzic: Accord Not Aimed Against Croats

LD2509161693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—In an interview in today's GLAS SRPSKI from Banja Luka, Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, declared that "the Serb-Muslim agreement is just the same as the Serb-Croat agreement" and that it is "in no way aimed against the Croats".

Hence, according to Karadzic, the Serbs from former Bosnia-Herzegovina have in no way given Mate Boban, president of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosna, any grounds for talking about a "renewed rapprochement with the Muslims."

"On the contrary. We believe that we have no conflicts with the Croats and that we have sorted out relations with the Croats in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Herceg-Bosna can rest assured that we will respect its identity, and we will not clash over anything. If there are any new nuances in Herceg-Bosna's policy, we must study them and then take our position on these. As for us, the union will be just as it is written in the draft, in particular in the constitutional treaty between the three republics. We will not accept it if anyone should try to strengthen central authority."

"The joint authority will have just as much jurisdiction as has been envisaged so far. We are not obliged to accept a unitary or even federal Bosnia, for we have agreed that it will be a union or an alliance of republics, which means

completely separate and autonomous entities. The Croatian position has not changed, and I think that a change of position could be influenced by the fighting in central Bosnia, where the Croats are in a very bad position. There are also the Muslims' active demands for a way out to the sea, which is a subject of concern for Herceg-Bosna because that might involve crossing Croatian territory", Karadzic said in conclusion.

Army Destroys Two Serbian Tanks, Kills 'Dozens'

AU2709100493

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 27 September carries in its regular 16-minute newscast several reports on the military situation in the Republic.

Reporting from Zavidovici, Viktor Boban describes the fighting yesterday, saying that "the last 24 hours have been the toughest of the war for the defenders." He says that "yesterday afternoon the defenders repelled fierce attacks by the united aggressor, the Serbian-chetnik army and the extremists from the HVO, which had been going on since early morning. In a major counterattack, the defenders destroyed two (?T-55) tanks and captured large quantities of weapons and ammunition. Dozens of the aggressor's soldiers were killed." He says that it is "relatively quiet" this morning.

Describing the situation in Maglaj yesterday, Hajrudin Sermic talks of "new regrouping by the aggressor, and intense movement of trucks and tanks."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3rd Corps Press Center reports on the situation in its zone of responsibility, claiming that "overnight the united forces of the Croatian Army and the HVO attacked the defense lines of Gornji Vakuf using artillery, tanks, and infantry." The reports says that "the Croatian Army and the HVO are not in control of all their forces. A number of fighters from (?Vitina) yesterday fled from the front around (?Kobile)." As for the Busovaca front, the report says that "the ustasha infantry and snipers have been constantly firing at the defense positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. However all the defense lines are stable and, in counterattacks, our fighters are inflicting heavy losses on the united aggressor, and gradually recapturing the temporarily occupied territory."

In his report from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the Serbian aggressor is continuing with provocations on this front. During the night the aggressor used small arms to fire at all the defensive positions, and occasionally used artillery."

Velid Djindo reports from Olovo that "yesterday evening the aggressor fiercely shelled an area in and around the town. Every day blatant violations of the cease-fire on this front and the vicious shelling of the town are ordered by war criminal Marko Jovanovic, following Karadzic's orders that if this little Bosnian town cannot be captured, then it should be razed to the ground." He says that "the early morning hours have been quiet."

Reporting from the Doboj area, Mirudin Aldobasic says that "the enemy from Mt. Ozren started artillery attacks in the early hours of yesterday evening against the free territories and the defense lines. The almost completely destroyed villages of Matuzici and Mravici were again targeted." He describes the morning as "relatively quiet."

Croats, Muslims Agree to Cease-Fire in Mostar

LD2509203793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] In the presence of Cedric Thornberry, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander for civil affairs, and Angel Morales, commander of the Spanish UNPROFOR battalion, delegations of the Croatian Defense Council and the Muslim side met in Medjugorje today. They reached an agreement aimed, it was said, at alleviating the suffering of the population on both banks of the Nereva river in the area of Mostar. The agreement, in eight points, envisages an unconditional cease-fire and exchange of POWs on a one-for-one principle until a final agreement at a higher level is reached.

In addition, the agreement secures freedom of movement of the UN peacekeepers and EC observers in order to facilitate implementation of their mandate. Tasked with observing the implementation of the agreement, UNPROFOR is to deploy its military observers throughout the town on either bank of the Neretva river.

The sides have taken upon themselves the obligation to secure unhindered and safe passage of all humanitarian convoys.

Izetbegovic Denies Plan To Attack HVO in Sarajevo

AU2509190393 Paris AFP in English 1851 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 25 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic Saturday denied his forces, who have been battling Bosnian Croat forces in the south and centre of the country, were planning to attack their former allies in Sarajevo.

His denial, carried by the official Bosnia-Herzegovina Press News Agency, followed three days of growing tension between the mostly Moslem Bosnian Army and Bosnian Croat force (HVO) in the capital.

The local HVO commander Slavko Zelic charged that the Moslem-led government wanted to do away with his forces.

"They want to eliminate the HVO in Sarajevo," Zelic told AFP.

"Of course, I'm afraid," he added when asked whether he feared for his life.

A senior member of First Corps command, responsible for the overall defence of Sarajevo, said Saturday that the HVO forces who had been holding a two-kilometer (one mile) front against Serb forces, had been ordered to return to barracks.

But he denied that any ultimatum had been issued to the HVO forces to withdraw to their barracks.

Zelic, for his part, said a first ultimatum was given to his forces Friday, but that it was then lifted by Izetbegovic. However, he added that he thought there would be further trouble between the two forces in the coming days.

The Bosnian Army officer, who declined to be identified, said for his part that he expected the problem to be settled by "mutual agreement" within a couple of days.

"There is no question of taking weapons away from the HVO," the officer also said, adding: "We are defending the city together."

"I can tell you frankly there is no conflict between the First Corps and the HVO in Sarajevo," the officer added.

"A majority of HVO soldiers want to fight within the ranks of the Bosnian Army, that's something Mr. Zelic doesn't like," he added.

HVO forces in the city are a tenth of the size of the Bosnian Army.

Of the 260,000 people in Sarajevo, some 30,000 to 35,000 are ethnic Croats, according to government figures.

The HVO and Bosnian army were formerly allies in the war against Bosnian Serbs, but over the past few months there have been mounting clashes between the two forces. Full-scale war has broken out between the two in the central Bosnia area around Vitez and around the southern town of Mostar.

Signs of trouble in Sarajevo first came to light Wednesday evening when the Interior Ministry accused HVO forces of withdrawing from the frontline.

Zelic denied his forces had abandoned their posts, saying they had been forced to turn round to face off a potential threat from Interior Ministry special forces, who mustered at night on his rear following reported trouble within HVO ranks.

A U.N. Protection Force spokesman said some U.N. forces had carried out patrols in the area at the time to defuse the situation.

The Interior Ministry later published a statement condemning the intervention by U.N. forces at a time when they did not normally patrol the area.

Muslims Ultimatum to HVO on Returning to Barracks

LD2409122693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] The 1st Corps Command of the Muslim army in Sarajevo has sent an ultimatum to the HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] Sarajevo HQ [Headquarters], saying that all HVO formations must return to their barracks by 2200 tonight, a HINA correspondent reports from Sarajevo. This ultimatum is signed by 1st Corps Commander Vahid Karavelic.

The Sarajevo HVO regards this demand as unacceptable, since it would mean military neutralization of the Sarajevo HVO. The HVO barracks in Sarajevo are already under heavy surveillance by the Muslim army's military police. In the night between 22 and 23 September, when the HVO buildings were threatened with attack, members of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] appeared in the city's streets, thus averting further conflicts.

UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Belgian General Francis Briquemont, met Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo yesterday. They talked about relations between the HVO and the Muslim army in the city.

William Aikman, Spokesman for the UN peace force in Sarajevo, said today that Alija Izetbegovic supports this UNPROFOR action, promising Gen. Briquemont that he would do his best to prevent this conflict from spreading. HVO Commander for Sarajevo Slavko Zelic is expected to talk with Alija Izetbegovic today. The HVO in Sarajevo is believed to be under threat, particularly following the return of some parts of the Muslim army from the Herzegovina theater of war.

HVO Threatens 300 Tonne Explosion if Vitez Falls

LD2509192093 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] In addition to these reports from the battlefields let us hear a statement forwarded to us by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] for the area of Travnik and Vitez.

We would like you to warn the domestic and international public that an explosives factory in Vitez may be destroyed in the event that the Muslim aggression against Croatian territory in central Bosnia continues. About 300 tonnes of nytroglycerine explosives and 500 tonnes of nitric and sulphuric acids pose a threat to everything in the wider area of central Bosnia, and would completely destroy the area under 450 meter altitude. Free Croatian territory, Travnik and particularly Zenica toward which almost all winds blow would perish.

We would like to warn you that there are some circles that are ready to blow up the factory dumps in the event this area falls, and they are very likely to do so as Muslim

commander Alagic ordered his troops to continue the offensive until Vitez is taken. Mobilization in Zenica and Travnik is complete and it appears that Muslim fanatics will not give up attacking our territory.

Muslims Suffer Heavy Losses in Zepce Area

LD2609215493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Report by correspondent Antun Mrkonjic from Zepce]

[Text] This evening the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] 111th Brigade from Zepce managed to repel ferocious attacks launched by the Muslim army from Zavidovici, Zenica, and Kakanj. This is the first time assaults like these have been registered: 1,000 tank, howitzer, and mortar shells landed on residential areas [in Zepce municipality] and defense lines. The Muslim army made several attempts to break through the defense lines. The command of the Third Corps of the Muslim army from Zenica was directly in charge of these operations. However, shelling is still in progress and the inhabitants of this area are still in their shelters.

The enemy suffered heavy losses again. One member of the 111th Brigade was killed and several were wounded.

Muslim Offensive on Mostar Reportedly 'Crushed'

LD2509191193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] After Muslim forces were driven out of the quarters they took during their latest offensive, it was incomparably calmer in Mostar today than over the past several days. It was almost completely quiet until noon, after which only minor infantry skirmishes and the blasts of several artillery and mortar shells were registered along the frontline in town. That the Muslim offensive against Mostar has been completely crushed is attested to by the fact that the command of the Muslim armed forces in Sarajevo has issued a warrant for the apprehension of 124 of its soldiers who deserted from their units on the Mostar front after this week's defeat.

Muslim forces continued their sporadic infantry attacks on the villages of Zabrdje and Krcevina near Vitez. The attacks were repelled this afternoon. Muslim artillery units simultaneously pounded almost all villages in the Lasva valley. One civilian lost his life while another three were wounded in the center of Vitez.

The situation was most dramatic today in the villages of Brestovsko and Otigosce near Kiseljak, where more than 50 shells landed. Three persons were killed and another four wounded.

Kiseljak lived through one of its roughest nights last night. One boy lost his life and one woman was seriously wounded from the missiles raining on the town. [passage omitted]

'Concentration Camp' Allegedly Set Up by Croats

AU2509130793 Paris AFP in English 1248 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 25 (AFP)—Bosnian Croats have rounded up the Moslem population of several villages in central Bosnia, using the men as forced labour and locking up women and children in a "virtual concentration camp," a U.N. official said here Saturday [25 September].

Ray Wilkinson, spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said his field workers had reported that HVO Croat forces had rounded up a "significant" number of Moslems from villages around Kiseljak, where the U.N. Protection Force is based.

The men, numbering several hundred were being used to dig trenches at the front, near Fojnica, while women and children had been deported from their homes and taken to the village of Rotilj, Wilkinson said.

International Committee of the Red Cross officials had vainly sought access to the camp, he added.

News of the deportation comes on the day after Bosnian Croats released over 500 Moslem prisoners from a camp at Dretelj, in the south of the country, taking them to the island of Korcula, off the Croatian coast.

Serbs Charge Muslims, Croats With War Crimes

LD2409163193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1457 GMT 24 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Doboj, September 24 (TANJUG)—The war crimes commission of the Serb town of Doboj in northern Bosnia has filed criminal charges against 163 people of Moslem and Croat nationality. They have been charged with brutal murders of Serb civilians in the region of Bosnian Posavina region.

The commission established that the persons last year, while the Moslem-Croat coalition was in power in this region in northern Bosnia, took part in the murders of around 130 Serb civilians and in the destruction of Serb villages and houses in that region.

Most of these crimes were committed in the region around Bosanski Brod, the largest town in Posavina, and the Serbs were killed in their homes, in camps or in military prisons.

The executors of the crimes were not only members of local Moslem and Croat formations, then still allies, but also members of the regular army of the neighbouring Republic of Croatia, which in early April last year attacked the Bosnian Posavina region and took part in the massacres of the local Serb civilians.

The Bosnian Serb Army liberated this region in the fall of last year, and promptly began to collect evidence on war crimes committed against the local Serb population.

Among those accused of war crimes are the current commander of Slavonski Brod Blazan Kljajic and Indira Vrbanjac, the head of the criminal department in that Croatian town which is separated from Bosanski Brod by the Sava River.

The local commission for establishing war crimes has so far filed criminal charges against a total of 417 persons, for whom it was established that they had taken part in crimes against civilians in Posavina and that they are responsible for the deaths of 354 innocent Serbs, including women and children.

Karadzic: Armenia To Recognize Serb Republic

LD2409202093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, received Seryan Bagdasaryan [spelling as received] deputy chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Armenia, and Oleg Yasayan, director of the University of Nagorno-Karabakh, in Banja Luka today.

In a brief statement after the reception, Karadzic said that an exchange of mixed delegations has been agreed for the initial stage. This will be followed by meetings of chiefs of state and the establishment of consular missions. All three sides expressed interest in this, he said, especially in the area of economic cooperation.

Asked by TANJUG's correspondent whether the upcoming contacts between top-ranking officials of the republic of Srpska, the Republic of Armenia, and Nagorno-Karabakh means the beginning of their mutual diplomatic recognition, Karadzic laconically replied: "Yes, this means mutual acknowledgment and recognition."

The guests from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh were also received today by Dr. Vitomir Popovic, deputy prime minister of the republic of Srpska, and by Professor Dragoljub Mirjanic, dean of Banja Luka University. Agreement was reached on an exchange of letters of intent concerning all forms of cooperation between the three countries' universities.

Prlic Demands Aid for Croatian Enclaves

LD2409201193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] In his letter to the head of the regional Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] in Medjugorje, Jadranko Prlic, president of the government of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, notes that humanitarian aid has recently been reaching locations controlled by Muslim authorities whereas not a single convoy has set off for Busovaca, Novi Travnik, and Vitez. This can result in organized groups of citizens seizing convoys carrying humanitarian aid to meet their needs or thwarting their passage to other areas.

In order to prevent this from taking place, Prlic demands that the UNHCR organize, prepare, and dispatch convoys that will transport the aid needed by the enclaves of Busovaca, Novi Travnik, and Vitez. Prlic also cautions that the Muslim authorities in Konjic have embarked on an operation to evict the Croats there, so about 800 civilians—women, children, and the elderly—have started their exodus. They are demanding to be immediately evacuated to the free territories of Herzegovina, calling on the UNHCR to take urgent measures to evacuate and accomodate them and temporarily provide care for them.

UNPROFOR: Security Council Responsible for Mandate

LD2409180493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 24 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, September 24 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Shannon Boyd said in Belgrade on Friday [24 September] that only the U.N. Security Council can decide if the U.N. peacekeepers will leave the republic of Serb Krajina or not.

Speaking at a press conference about the indications by the Croatian authorities that they would deny any further hospitality to the UNPROFOR, Boyd said that the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate could not be discussed in bilateral talks between Zagreb and the U.N. headquarters in New York, but only by all the three sides which signed the Vance plan on establishing U.N.-Protected Areas (UNPA) in the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina.

The plan proposed by special envoy of the U.N. secretary-general Cyrus Vance was signed by Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the republic Of Serb Krajina in January 1992.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by Serbs in 1991 in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where they are the majority population when Croatia forcibly seceded from the Yugoslav Federation and proclaimed Serbs a national minority in the new republic.

The presence of the UNPROFOR has not been enforced, Boyd said, the peacekeepers were invited by all three sides, so that they can leave only if the decision to invite them is revoked. However, only the U.N. Security Council can decide about this, she said.

The mandate of the UNPROFOR in Krajina is due to expire on September 30 this year.

The U.N. secretary-general on Tuesday asked the Security Council to extend the UNPROFOR mandate for another six months, saying that Croatia had carried out three attacks against this UNPA since it was established.

The situation in sector south of the UNPA (the regions of Kninska Krajina and Lika) is extremely tense, and 106 shells were fired in the past 24 hours along the line of the conflict. The situation is tense in the other three sectors also, but relatively quiet, Boyd said.

She said that the exact number of people killed in the Croatian Army attack on September 9 in sector south would probably never be known, [words indistinct] that 66 bodies had been found in the villages of Divoselo and Citluk so far.

A committee of human rights experts are investigating the situation caused by the attack, especially the possible consequences of the brutality shown by the Croatian forces during their withdrawal from this region. U.N. officials are gathering information, including video tapes and photographs, Boyd said.

Boyd said that 120 Croats live in Podlapac, a village in sector south, which is the largest Croatian community in the republic of Serb Krajina.

Until September 9, when the Croatian Army carried out the attack, the Croats had lived in relative security. The UNPROFOR had received assurances from the Krajina authorities that the 120 people would be protected, Boyd said, underscoring that it was completely incorrect that several murders had been committed in Podlapac in the past 10 days.

Boyd said that she did not know that the U.N. secretary-general had proposed that the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia be treated separately from the mandates in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

This idea was launched by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Butrus-Ghali will take it into serious consideration, Boyd said. She said that even if the mandates were separated, the UNPROFOR command would remain a united one.

Serbs Seek Exemption for Heavy Weapons

LD2609212593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2044 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] Knin, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—The supreme defense council of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) made a decision this evening to request that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command deploy their forces on the RSK-Republic of Croatia demarcation lines of 3 January 1992, unless the lines have been changed in the meantime.

The council pointed to the accumulation of Croatian forces in western Slavonia and for that reason demanded that the heavy weaponry of the Serb Krajina army [SVK, Srpska Vojska Krajine] be exempted from control by the peacekeeping forces command in the sector "in order to avoid new tragic consequences as in the case of the Croatian aggression against Krajina in January," the statement says.

The RSK supreme council made a decision today to close down the 101st SVK training center in Erdut. The training center's buildings and equipment have been handed over to the RSK Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Croatian-Turkish-Bosnian Joint Statement

LD2409221793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Dr. Mate Granic, Hikmet Cetin, and Haris Silajdzic have made a joint statement after their meeting with Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, in Zagreb.

They announced the departure of joint working groups for Bosnia-Herzegovina tasked with working out a cease-fire as soon as possible and facilitating implementation of the joint declaration signed on 14 September by Croatia President Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic.

According to Dr. Granic, the working groups will begin leaving tommorow, while some of these groups are already in the field. One group is in Konjic, where Croatian prisoners are kept. It will be very important if the exchange takes place according to the all-for-all principle and if the initial stage consists of swapping the group of Croats in Konjic for the group of Muslims in Dretelj who have been released and given temporary accomodation in the island of Korcula, the Croatian foreign minister said. He added that the working groups will visit all the internment camps together with representatives of the International Red Cross Committee, that they will inspect the living conditions in them, and do everything they can to effect a POW exchange as soon as possible.

These groups will be joined by ambassadors from friendly countries, Dr. Granic announced. He added that the passage of humanitarian convoys will not be obstructed, warning that the present problems are linked solely to the cease-fire.

Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin expressed satisfaction with the Croats' and Muslims' readiness to cooperate. I know that the United States, Germany, and the member countries of the Islamic Conference Organization will be pleased to note that the Muslims and Croats are collaborating, and we support the declaration signed by the presidents of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said. He stressed that progress has been achieved in certain areas but that much still has to be done. What I can see is that both sides are sincere and ready. We do not want any more suffering. They must live together, as friends, because they have been living like that for a long time. Turkey, as a friend of both countries, but also as an Islamic country, wishes to help in this respect, Minister Cetin said.

According to the foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic, the creation of joint working groups is an important step forward. This can have a decisive impact on the cessation of hostilities, Haris Silajdzic said.

UNPROFOR Commander Protests Attack

LD2609192393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1859 GMT 26 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, September 26 (TANJUG)—Commander of the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for former Yugoslavia General Jean Cot of France on Sunday protested with the Croatian authorities because Croatian troops opened fire on an UNPROFOR rescue team on Saturday [25 September].

The incident took place near the village of Medak in the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), the state proclaimed by local Serbs within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The RSK territory has been under the protection of the United Nations since March last year.

The UNPROFOR rescue party entered the tense no-man's-land in the Medak pocket after two French peacekpeepers patrolling the area were wounded by a land mine explosion, REUTERS news agency quoted UNPROFOR spokeswoman Shannon Boyd as saying.

Croatian forces opened fire on the rescue team but nobody was hurt in the shooting. An armoured vehicle then struck another land mine while trying to rescue one of the wounded and another two peacekeepers were wounded.

'It is indefensible for U.N. peacekeepers to be attacked by the (warring) parties for whom we are here to help. It is even more incomprehensible when peacekeepers are engaged in medical evacuation,' General Cot said in the protest note sent to Croatian Army chief General Janko Bobetko.

Tension Mounts Between Zagreb, Istria Leadership

AU2609183593 Paris AFP in English 1812 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Zagreb, Sept 26 (AFP)—Ceremonies held for the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the Istria Peninsula in northwestern Croatia were marked this weekend with charges by Istria leaders that their region was being exploited by the central leadership in Zagreb.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who was attending the ceremonies, engaged in a heated exchange with local leaders from the peninsula who accused the Zagreb government of exploiting their regions' resources and preventing development.

Luciano Delbianco, a local leader in Pazin, Istria's main town, charged that the Zagreb government was preventing the peninsula from developing and warned that unless the situation was reversed tension would mount between Istria and Zagreb. [passage omitted]

The peninsula has a population of 250,000 including 20,000 ethnic Italians. The region is represented in parliament by the Democratic Istrian Community, a party that favours a demilitarization of Istria as well as political and economic independence from the central government.

Italy ceded the peninsula to the former Yugoslavia in 1947.

Tudjman Comments on Istria

LD2509172993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has inaugurated the construction works on a 14-kilometer-long railway tunnel through Mt. Cicarija. [passage omitted]

[Begin Tudjman recording] It is with Croatia that Istria will finally become a part of Europe. And only a sovereign and independent Croatia can guarantee that Istria will never again become someone else's turf and be subjected to foreign occupation. Be aware that we are now encountering something in Istria that is detrimental to the interests of the citizens of Istria, of Croatia in general, and to the interests of democracy.

This project, the inauguration of works on a 14-kilometer-long tunnel, such a project could never have been realized by Istria on its own. Such a project could only be realized by the state of Croatia, in the interest of Istria, in the interest of Croatia. And it is not true that the central Croatian authorities are exploiting the toil and hardships of the Istrian people. What the central authorities are doing is in the interest of Croatia as a whole, what they are doing here is in the interests of the Istrian people, of the county of Istria. Therefore, only in a unified Croatia can Istria develop to the benefit of its people, although some have wrongly suggested that this can only result in their impoverishment. We will make sure that Istria is administered by people who are in tune with the real state of affairs in Istria, in Croatia, and in Europe. [end recording]

[Reporter] Further on in his speech, President Tudjman said that there are elements in Istria that are not working in the interest of Istria and Croatia, but they have to realize that Croatia is now a sovereign state here and that policies opposing the Croatian state cannot be pursued here. Istria cannot resolve its problems with transregional and transnational ideas but through cooperation with the central Croatian authorities, President Tudjman declared at today's ceremony and added:

[Begin Tudjman recording] And these central Croatian authorities belong to Istria just as much as they belong to Dalmatia, Zagorje, Slavonija, and Medjimurje. These central Croatian authorities, as the prime minister has said, always have the interests of Istria and Croatia at heart, and these central authorities will enable the realization of such major projects as the construction of this railway tunnel, as well as others, of which the construction of water supply networks seems to be the most pressing. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Commentary Rejects Istrian Claims

LD2509214093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Commentary by Branko Herzeg]

[Text] [Presenter] The celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the unification of Istria, Rijeka, Zadar, and the islands with their motherland, Croatia, offer an opportunity to talk about a number of political tendencies in Istria. A commentary by Branko Herzeg.

[Herzeg] What is involved here is the pronounced regionalism of the Istria Democratic Alliance, a party which has a majority in the Istria county assembly. It was in this spirit that the party's leaders organized a festive session in Pazin and, bypassing the protocol, imposed their own political credo, namely that Istria wants to rule itself. If that were really the case, then during previous centuries, while they lived under Venice, Austria, and Italy, Istrians would have fought for their own special independence; yet they did not, but for a full 14 centuries they aspired to unification with the motherland of their people, with the Croatians and Croatia, whatever that may have been.

Fifty years ago conditions were created to develop Croatian consciousness in them, and in spite of all of the efforts of the alien authorities who ruled over Istria, the essence of being Croatian was not destroyed. Deprivation of national identity and emigration have not destroyed the ethnic and cultural uniqueness of Istrian Croats. Not only Istrian priests but also Istrian laborers made their great contribution, and knew how to decide what really is theirs, what they themselves are, and to whom they really belong.

This is why it is today out of place to say that Istria wants to rule itself, for this is in contradiction to the historical experience of the Croatian man in Istria.

Istria is today in Croatia, which rules both Zagorje and Medjugorje, and Slavonia and Dalmatia, and Istria too, which has its own special features and conditions, just as does every part of Croatia alongside the others; but no one uses those special features and conditions for their own ends, nor will they do so; instead, they unite them for the common Croatian good.

All the more so today, when Croatia is an independent and sovereign state, but still threatened and war-torn and still very vulnerable. This is why the tendencies which the Istrian Democratic Alliance has foisted upon Istrians are in the interest neither of the Istrians nor of democracy as a whole in Croatia; because if all Croatian regions are united in democratic Croatia, and insist on freeing every yard of Croatian land, it is hard to believe that Istrians are not in favor of that, they who themselves 50 years ago adopted a decision in Pazin to unite with their homeland of Croatia.

Federal

Government Sends Delegation to Geneva Talks

LD2509130093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1236 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has changed its stand and decided to send a delegation to a meeting of the working group for the succession of the former Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic said on Saturday [25 September].

The group, formed as part of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, is to convene in Geneva between September 27-29.

Simic told TANJUG that the government's original decision not to attend the meeting was "politically justified and appropriate" and meant a "reaction to the attempt to give the Badinter commission more authority than agreed at the London conference."

Simic said that the "chairman of the succession working group sent an explanation, saying explicitly that the Badinter commission's report will be treated only as suggestion, without legal effects."

The chairman, Ambassador Boyer, gave assurances to the Yugoslav working group that its proposal for the definition of legal rules of the talks and basic categories of succession issues would be discussed together with other proposals.

"This has removed all obstacles to the participation of our delegation in the upcoming meeting and also reaffirmed our readiness to resolve consistently all problems, on the basis of open, democratic and equal dialogue, and without outside pressure and political blackmail," said Simic.

Macedonia

Sanctions Control at Macedonian Border Viewed

AU2709105293 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 93 pp 16-18

[Article by Nenad L. Stefanovic: "Sealed 'Emmentaler'"]

[Text] Also this must have happened once. For 15 months there were mile long lines of trucks on both sides of the Serbian-Macedonian border every day. They waited for the night to fall and for the international controllers in charge of the sanctions supervision to go to bed in order to cross the border in both directions around midnight. The trucks usually carried fictitious or forged documents and seals of nonexisting companies, as a rule from the former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The violation of the sanctions at this border was something everybody knew. It was often discussed in Belgrade, and everybody was happy that "at least this was not tightened." In Skopje, the people earned by the violation of the sanctions, but it was still not enough to cover the losses they caused. The international observers more or less accepted the fact that this border was "the most problematic," but they were not ready to change their sleeping habits. That is why the opinion was created that this border, turned into an "Emmentaler" with big holes in it, virtually signified the general consensus that allowed Belgrade (and Skopje) to have at least one open door in the circulation of goods so that the people can survive. There have been warnings from time to time, such as the recent one from the U.S. State Department, in which it was stated that Macedonia and Greece, although they are great enemies, violated the sanctions together, and that something had to be done, but it seems that nobody took these warnings seriously.

Shrugging Shoulders

This is perhaps the most important reason that the Macedonian decision to block its northern border was accepted in Belgrade with mistrust and astonishment at first. The anger followed later. First of all, everybody in Belgrade believed that the joint interest in violating the sanctions would last forever. Not so long ago, even Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov stated in an interview: "Of all Serbian neighbors, Macedonia suffers most under the sanctions, because we have no access to the coast and no good alternate roads or railroads. It is understandable that the north-south direction is very important for us. If it is closed down toward the north, that is to say toward Europe and Serbia, with which our economy is closely connected, the consequences will be very great. There is no suspicion about it. There will also be economic, social and other implications."

Apart from that, it was very well known in Belgrade that in the summer of 1992 a high Macedonian official admitted in Washington that Macedonia would not be able to respect the sanctions completely, pointing out that the loss would be $1.3 billion per year, which amount could even multiply if the sanctions lasted for a long time. The statements issued by some Serbian opposition leaders, who recently visited Macedonia and met with representatives of official authorities there, also spoke in favor of the theory that this border could remain half open. Zoran Djindjic of the Democratic Party said on the TV POLITIKA channel that Macedonia would join the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia some day, which would in his opinion be somewhat larger than the present one. The half open Macedonian border and more and more frequent remarks about the possibility that the sanctions be lifted aroused hopes that we would be able to survive this winter somehow.

Since Mr. Sainovic, the Serbian prime minister, who surprisingly visited Skopje on his way back from Greece, did not hear anything else from his Macedonian colleague Mr. Crvenkovski but that "Macedonia, as a UN member must respect the sanctions, although it loses more than Serbia," the official Belgrade media referred to it as to yet another "Macedonian betrayal." In one of

the daily newspapers the Macedonians were accused of being "unbelievable poltroons," of having sold themselves to the United States. It was stated that "Gligorov's political doctrine" stood behind everything, or better said Christopher's, who—as commander in chief of the customs operations—addressed a letter to Skopje "ordering the Macedonian authorities to do what they had to do."

The publicity in the media had another function, too—to push into the background the fact that the Serbian-Montenegrin border was suddenly blocked at approximately the same time. What is more it was closed according to some tacit sanctions that are not included in the UN Resolution No.820 and do not correspond to the constitutional stipulations on the joint Yugoslav market.

Several days later, when it definitely became clear that the Macedonian blockade was not easing, the Yugoslav federal government publicly answered the question asked by the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] a long time ago concerning the disputed border area between the communes of Vitina and Kumanovo in Serbia and Macedonia (with high-quality forests). It was stated that this issue was being worked on, but that there were moot points in drawing the border, not only in this area. What the government indirectly said was that the solution to this problem depended on the Macedonian attitude toward the blockade.

Child's Play

In contrast to the authorities in Belgrade, which did not want to believe it at first and were consequently very angry, it was immediately noticed in Skopje that no commentary on the blockade of the border toward Serbia was desirable, so that this job was let over to the customs officers who simply explained "that the sanctions had to be respected." The policy toward the northern neighbor changed overnight and perplexed many people because it is still not known what Macedonia was promised in return. It was unofficially heard that, apart from the international recognition and diplomatic maturity, Macedonia and its stumbling economy could also expect partial compensation for the loss caused by the sanctions, writing off of debts with the World Bank, financial help for several very important projects and for the transformation of production, as well as more secure guarantees for some new surprising situations in the Balkans. Bearing all this in mind, a high Macedonian official, who did not want his name to be mentioned, declared to the RFI correspondent in Skopje with much optimism several days ago that "the coming winter will be child's play in comparison with the last. We shall survive without any problems."

The blockade of the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its far-reaching consequences made Macedonian Independence Day (8 September) less festive than it is usually the case with young states, because the Macedonian people had to ask themselves what was coming. NOVA MAKEDONIJA published the article entitled "Damage With Long-Term Consequences," in which it warned that the Macedonian economy was brought to the verge of collapse, and that the main culprits for the hopeless state of the national economy were first of all the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The article claimed that an alternative to the economic cooperation Macedonia had with Serbia for decades could hardly be found in the years to come. The NOVA MAKEDONIJA analysts think that if the hermetic sealing of the border is consistently applied, it will come to "the final collapse and bankruptcy of the national economy." They forecast that Macedonia will suffer losses caused by the sanctions amounting to $1.8 billion by the end of the year. This estimate was made on the basis of the calculation that the Macedonian economy sold $1.4 billion worth of goods in Serbia. Approximately 80 percent of Macedonian goods pass through Serbia. Macedonia paid for this service by buying goods worth $900 million per year in Serbia. Apart from that, NOVA MAKEDONIJA points out that the sanctions and the total blockade, which has just begun, do not leave any alternative to the electricity supply system in Macedonia because it is connected to Serbia. The situation is similar with war materials for the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy. The "Jugohrom" Company from Jegunovci, "Fenimaka" Company from Kavadarci and the ironworks from Skopje will soon have to close down. By the end of the year this branch of industry will have losses amounting to approximately $900 million, increased transportation costs will amount to $207 million; $222 million will be lost because transportation services could not have been sold, whereas the losses in agriculture will amount to $180 million since Macedonia lost its traditional markets. NOVA MAKEDONIJA sums it up by stating that it cannot be expected that the compensation can function quickly enought to bring Macedonia much money in the short term. "Nobody has received such help so far," NOVA MAKEDONIJA concludes.

Most of the Macedonian businessmen are not ready to comment on this situation. Jorgo Cuka, the manager of the "Ohis" company from Skopje, was asked to comment on the blockade for VREME. He said there was too much publicity about the blockade on both sides of the border (in Serbia and in Macedonia). In his view it would be better to work more and keep quiet. "The measures are clear as well as the interests of the economy, therefore it would be best to solve the problems in the regular way," Cuka said somewhat confusingly.

Neither Dusko Djordjevski, deputy manager of "Jugohrom," a metallurgy company—which will probably be forced to close down its plants after the latest sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were introduced—wanted to speak freely about this problem. He agrees that this blockade will affect the business relations his company had with Serbia and knows that "Jugohrom" will lose very much. "The only market on which we sold large quantities of our commodities and where

we bought raw materials is being closed, and no new one is being opened," Djordjevski says adding that the business will have to be done in some other country now at incomparably higher prices.

The U.S. Factor

The allegations that the decision of the Macedonian Government to completely close its border toward Serbia was first of all a consequence of the U.S. insistence are not unfounded. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Skopje denies that this was an ultimatum, stressing that the decision taken by the State Department about establishing a liaison bureau in the Macedonian capital should not be linked with carrying out the sanctions, but it must be assumed that they simply did not have any chance of saying no in this case. The only real dilemma was whether to violate the sanctions, thus preserving the most important market, or to join the rest believing the promises that this was the only way to the international cash.

The United States was one of the leading countries that wanted the sanctioned tightened, which included better control of the Serbian-Macedonian border. This was reportedly the main reason for the arrival of the U.S. troops in Macedonia. Apart from foreign diplomats, many U.S. congressmen and senators, and Pentagon staff have visited Skopje in the past few weeks. According to the WALL STREET JOURNAL, it can also be expected that U.S. defense secretary Les Aspen will arrive soon. The Macedonian media more and more often mention the possibility that Macedonia will become a member of NATO one day. The U.S. interest in the south of the former Yugoslavia is explained in some places by the anecdote in which U.S. President Clinton, answering a question about what the United States will do with Bosnia in the end, says that it will go to Macedonia. In a recently published article in the NEW YORK TIMES, it was stressed, for example, that the control of Bosnia always guaranteed a strategic superiority in the North Balkans. "Whoever controls Macedonia controls the economy in the South Balkans," the NEW YORK TIMES said, explaining the interest in this region, announcing that different countries would try to impose one of the two different strategic routes—the one from the north toward the south, from Belgrade, through Skopje to Saloniki, or the one from the West to the East, from Durres in Albania, through Skopje to Bulgaria and Istanbul.

People acquainted with events in Macedonia did not miss the announcement that Kiro Gligorov, president of Macedonia, would speak in front of the UN General Assembly on 30 September, where he should explain his country's foreign policy. There is no doubt that he is leaving for the Palace of the Nations without the "mortgage" that has accompanied him during the last months—the inconsistency in the carrying out of the sanctions, which could have slowed down the process of the international recognition of Macedonia. Macedonia, which is a full UN member, has been recognized by 36 states so far. The unsolved problem about the name of the state and the conflict with Greece could, in spite of the promises given by Cyrus Vance, last for a relatively long time. Especially if "the moderate nationalist" government of Mitsotakis is replaced by a more radical option in the next election.